

# Modern Philology

Vol. VIII

January, 1911

No. 3

## CHAUCER AND THE *MIROIR DE MARIAGE*

### III

Chaucer's indebtedness to Jean de Meun for certain elements of his conception of the Wife of Bath is unmistakable. He drew, as has frequently been pointed out, upon La Vielle;<sup>1</sup> he drew, as Professor Mead has shown,<sup>2</sup> upon Le Jaloux. And to St. Jerome's *Epistola adversus Jovinianum* the *Prologue* owes, in a sense, as has been said, "even its existence."<sup>3</sup> But despite all this, there are certain discrepancies between the Wife of Bath as Chaucer has conceived her, and her suggested analogues in the *Roman de la Rose*—discrepancies which those who have called attention to the parallels have been the first to recognize. There are difficulties about La Vielle. "In the first place," as Professor Mead remarks, "we see that the entire setting is different"<sup>4</sup>—a fact which he demonstrates at some length. "Furthermore," he continues, "Chaucer transformed the somewhat morose and broken-spirited old woman,

[Continuation of note 5, p. 185]

parole." It is clear enough that Chaucer had also in mind his own use of the quotation in *Melibeus*; but the context is the context of the *Miroir*—and in part the phrasing too. It is worth noting, also, that Placebo himself plays the rôle of the "ami fortunel" (as Justinus that of the "vray ami") of Deschamps's second chapter. Compare, for example, with Placebo's lines:

So wisely god my soule bringe at reste,  
I hold your owene conseil is the beste (E. 1,489-90)—

the characterization of the "ami de fortune":

Mais le faulx ami, par ma teste,  
Blandist, flatte et va decepvent,  
Et se tourne avecques le vent  
Et consentira ta folie  
Pour toy plaire (ll. 42-46).

<sup>1</sup> See esp. Mead, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVI, 391-95.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 395-404.

<sup>3</sup> Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 292.

<sup>4</sup> *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVI, 392.

entirely out of sympathy with life, into a witty and frisky shrew—good-natured in a way, but still a shrew. Where did Chaucer pick up the hint for that? Or, rather, could he have got any hint for the special part he makes her play?"<sup>1</sup> This hint Professor Mead finds in the Jealous Husband of an earlier portion of the *Roman de la Rose*, "who, like the Wife of Bath, has much to say of the woes of matrimony, and who, like her, speaks from experience,"<sup>2</sup> and who likewise uses the famous fragment of Theophrastus. To this extent, accordingly, the Jealous Husband supplies the deficiencies of the Duenna. But even this does not leave quite smooth sailing. For obviously (as Professor Mead himself fully admits) this means that Chaucer has had "to reverse the conditions, to turn the scolding husband into the scolding wife."<sup>3</sup> In a word, although Chaucer undoubtedly drew (as I believe) on both La Vielle and Le Jaloux in his portrayal of the Wife of Bath, it is no less clear that each of them fails of correspondence in a rather vital point: La Vielle poses as an *unsuccessful* practitioner of her art—and Le Jaloux is a *man*!

Now in the *Miroir de Mariage* we find a racy portrayal (in some of its touches worthy of Chaucer himself) of a wife, addicted to pilgrimages, punctilious about precedence at the offering, who is coached by her mother in the art of managing her husband, and who conspicuously betters her instructions. That, in a document which Chaucer uses elsewhere in his work, is in itself significant enough. But I should like to defer consideration of its more general bearings until we have examined certain somewhat complex matters of detail.

The Wife of Bath's vivid rehearsal of the way in which she stiffly bore her old husbands on hand is based upon the *Aureolus Theophrasti Liber de Nuptiis*, as that uncompromising document is quoted in St. Jerome's epistle *Adversus Jovinianum*.<sup>4</sup> In the *Miroir de Mariage* Deschamps draws even more extensively than Chaucer upon this same forty-seventh chapter of the first book of the *Epistola*.<sup>5</sup> And there can be little doubt, I think, that Chaucer had the *Miroir*

<sup>1</sup> *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVI, 395.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 398.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 402.

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, chap. 47, cols. 276-78. See Woolcombe, in *Essays on Chaucer* (Chaucer Soc.), Part III, 298-304. Compare Koeppl, in *Archiv*, LXXXIV, 413-14, and *Anglia*, XIII, 174-76; Tatlock, *Devel. and Chron.*, 202; Skeat's notes *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> See Raynaud, XI, 170 ff., and *passim*.

beside him as he made his own incomparable dramatization of St. Jerome. This will perhaps appear most plainly if certain passages from all three documents are set side by side.

Deinde per noctes totas garrulae conquestiones: Illa ornatior procedit in publicum: haec honoratur ab omnibus, ego in conventu feminarum misella despicior. Cur aspiciebas vicinam? quid cum ancillula loquebaris? de foro veniens quid attulisti? Non amicum habere possumus [Al. possum], non sodalem. Alterius amorem, suum odium suspicatur (Migne, XXIII, col. 276).

Et elle verra ses voisines,  
Ses parentes et ses cousines,  
Qui nouvelles robes aront:  
Adonc plains et plours te saudront  
Et complaintes de par ta fame,  
Qui te dira: "Par Nostre Dame,  
Celle est en publique honourée,  
*Bien vestue et bien acemée,*  
Et entre toutes suy despitte  
Et povre, maleureuse ditte!  
Mais je voy bien a quoy il tient:  
Vous regardez, quant elle vient,  
*No voisine, bien m'en perçoy,*  
Car vous n'avez cure de moy;  
Vous jouez a no chamberiere:  
Quant du marchié venis arriere,  
L'autre jour, que li apportas?<sup>2</sup>  
Las! de dure heure m'espousas!  
Je n'ay mari ne compaignon.

Certes se vous me fussiez bon,  
Et vous n'amissiez autre part,  
Vous ne venissiez pas si tart  
Comme vous faictes a l'ostel!"<sup>3</sup>

It will be noticed, in the first place, that in Theophrastus three distinct women are referred to by the wife, before the maid is named:

<sup>1</sup> Compare also the following lines:

Et si vous di bien que ma huve  
Est vieille et de pource fasson:  
Je sçay tel femme de masson,  
Qui n'est pas a moy comparable,  
Qui meilleur l'a et plus coustable  
Il li. fois que la mienne n'est. . . .  
Je voy bien femme d'avocas,  
De povres bourgeois de villaige,  
Qui l'ont bien, (pourquoy ne l'arai ge?)  
A .liiii. roncins atelé:  
Certes pas ne sont de tel lé  
Ne de tel ligne com je suy (ll. 1,256-61, 1,274-79).

It is the Wife in the *Miroir* who is speaking.

<sup>2</sup> Compare:

I governed hem so wel, after my lawe,  
That ech of hem ful blisful was and fawe  
To bringe me gaye thinges fro the fayre (D.219-21).

<sup>3</sup> Compare:

Mon propre mari me diffame,  
Qui ne me laist en compaignie  
Aler; nul temps ne m'esbanie (ll. 1,712-14).

<sup>4</sup> *Miroir*, ll. 1,589-1,611.

<sup>5</sup> D. 234-47.

. . . . but herkneþ how I sayde  
"Sir olde kaynard, is this thyn array?  
Why is my neighebores wyf so gay?"<sup>1</sup>  
She is honoured over-al ther she goth;  
I sitte at hoom, I have no thrifty cloth.

What dostow at my neighebores hous?  
Is she so fair? artow so amorous?

What rowne ye with our mayde? *ben'cite!*  
Sir olde lechour, lat thy lapes be!

And if I have a gossib or a freend,  
With-outen gilt, thou chydest as a feend,  
If that I walke or pleye unto his hous!<sup>2</sup>

*Thou comest hoom as dronken as a mous,*  
And prechest on thy bench, with yvel preef!<sup>3</sup>

*illa . . . . haec . . . . vicinam*; in both Deschamps and Chaucer, on the other hand, these three are (with enhanced effect) fused into one, and that one is the third—"no voisine," "my neighebores wyf." Moreover, Chaucer and Deschamps agree in separating "ornatior" from "procedit in publicum," and in treating it independently—Deschamps in his "nouvelles robes aront" and his "bien vestue"; Chaucer in his "Why is my neighebores wyf so gay?"<sup>1</sup> Theophrastus's "procedit in publicum" is linked in both Chaucer and the *Miroir* with "honoratur" instead of with "ornatior." With "our mayde" compare "no chamberiere"; and with "thy japes," the "jouez" of the *Miroir*. And finally, it is in the *Miroir* alone that one finds the direct hint for the Wife of Bath's crowning touch:

*Thou comest hoom as dronken as a mous.*

For there is nothing in Theophrastus which even remotely suggests Deschamps's

*Vous ne venissiez pas si tart  
Comme vous faictes a l'ostel.*

Chaucer has heightened the realism of the taunt, but he found the suggestion for it in the amplification already at his hand in the *Miroir*.

I pass over for the moment the immediately succeeding lines from Theophrastus, which are complicated by the influence of Jean de Meun, and come to the argument from the "chat en sac."

Adde, quod nulla est uxoris electio, sed qualiscumque obvenit, habenda. Si iracunda, si fatua, si deformis, si superba, si fetida, quodcumque vitii est, post nuptias discimus. Equus, asinus, bos, canis, et vilissima mancipia, vestes quoque, et lebetes, sedile ligneum, calix, et urceolus fictilis probantur prius, et sic emuntur: sola uxor non ostenditur, ne ante displiceat, quam ducatur (Migne, XXIII, col. 277).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Notice also that "I have no thrifty cloth" is much more definitely suggested by Deschamps's lines than by the single word in Theophrastus.

<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to have before us also, for comparison, the corresponding lines from the *Roman de la Rose*:

Je voi que qui cheval achete,  
N'iert ja si fox que riens i mete,  
Comment que l'en l'ait bien couvert,  
Se tout n'el voit a descouvert.  
Par tout le regarde et descuevre;  
Mès la fame si bien se cuevre,  
Ne ja n'l sera descouverte,  
Ne por gaaigne, ne por perte,  
Ne por solas, ne por mesteuse,  
Por ce, sans plus, qu'el ne desplèse  
Devant qu'ele soit espousee;  
Et quant el voit la chose outrée,  
Lors primes monstre sa malice,  
Lors pert s'ele a en li nul vice;  
Lors fait au fol ses meurs sentir,  
Que riens n'l vaut le repentir.

—(ed. Michel, II, 9, 418-33).



A mon propos vueil revenir.  
 Qui prandra femme, cilz l'ara  
 Toute tele qu'il la prandra,  
 Soit jeune, vieille, salle ou nette,  
 Sotte, boiteuse ou contrefette,  
 Humble, courtoise ou gracieuse,  
 Belle ou borgne ou malicieuse,  
 Car par devant se couverra;  
 Mais ses meurs après ouverra,  
 Et de près les fera sentir  
 A tel qui en sera martir;  
*Lors fera apparoir ses vices.*  
 Si me semble que cilz est nices  
 Qui, sanz cerchier ce qu'il veult prandre,  
 L'achate et ne le puet rebrandre.  
 Se tu veulz achater bestail  
 Pour garder ou vendre a detail,  
 Soit buefs, vaiches, brebiz ou pors,  
 Tu le verras au long du corps,  
 Ou ventre, en la queue, en la teste  
 Et es dens, s'il est juene beste,  
*Et les metteras a l'essay . . .*  
*Mais autrement va des barons*  
*Et des aultres qui prannent femmes,*  
 Car sanz vir queuvrent leurs diffames,  
 Et les prannent sanz ce sçavoir  
*Qu'elles font depuis apparoir,*  
 Comme plus a plain sera dit.<sup>1</sup>

Thow seyst, we wyves wol our vyces hyde

Til we be fast,  
*and than we wol hem shewe;*  
 Wel may that be a proverbe of a shrewel

Thou seist, that oxen, asses, hors, and  
 houndes,  
 They been assayed at diverse stoundes;  
 Bacins, lavours, er that men hem bye,  
 Spones and stoles, and als with housbondrye,  
 And so been pottes, clothes, and array;  
*But folk of wyves maken noon assay*  
 Til they be wedded; olde dotard shrewel

*And than, seistow, we wol oure vices shewe.*<sup>2</sup>

It will be observed, in the first place, that this is one of the passages from Theophrastus which Jean de Meun also paraphrased, and I have added in a footnote the corresponding lines from the *Roman de la Rose*. It is possible that Deschamps had the *Roman*, as well as St. Jerome, beside him; the rhyme-pair *couverra: ouverra*, at all events, recalls the succession of rhymes (*couvert: decouvert; descuevre: cuevre: decouverte*) in Jean de Meun. It is possible (perhaps even probable) that Chaucer also remembered the *Roman*; his

*Til we be fast, and then we wol hem shewe,*

is pretty close to

*Et quant el voit la chose outrée,*  
*Lors primes monstre sa malice.*

Ll. 285-89 of the *Prologue*, moreover, render it clear beyond all doubt that Chaucer was making direct use of the text of St. Jerome. But even so, there is also good ground for believing that he was following the *Miroir* too. Even in the line (D. 283) just referred to as possibly influenced by Jean de Meun, "hem" (sc. "our vices")

<sup>1</sup> *Miroir*, ll. 1,538-59, 1,570-75.

<sup>2</sup> D. 282-92.

answers directly to "ses vices" of the corresponding line in Deschamps; and the *Prologue* and the *Miroir* agree in the future tense, as against the present tense of Theophrastus and the *Roman de la Rose*. Moreover, in the closing lines of the paragraph Chaucer is in much closer agreement with Deschamps than with either Theophrastus or Jean de Meun, as a glance will show. "Men of wyves maken noon assay" combines Deschamps's "*des barons et des aultres qui prannent femmes*" and his "*les metteras a l'essay*"; "we wol our vices shewe" includes both "*leurs diffames*" and "*Qu'elles font depuis apparoir*." Indeed, Chaucer's repetition of "And than we wol hem shewe" (D. 283), "And than . . . we wol our vices shewe" (D. 292) is almost an exact counterpart of Deschamps's similarly repeated "*Lors fera apparoir ses vices*" (1,549), "*Ce . . . qu'elles font depuis apparoir*" (1,574).<sup>1</sup> And finally, it is precisely the lines of Deschamps (1,539-45, 1,556-69) which Chaucer omits here that we have already found him using later in the *Merchant's Tale* (E. 1,532-39).<sup>2</sup>

The next paragraph affords still further evidence of the influence of the *Miroir*.

Attendenda semper ejus est facies, et pulchritudo laudanda: ne si alteram aspexeris, se existimet displicere. Vocanda domina, celebrandus natalis ejus, jurandum per salutem illius, ut sit superstes optandum; honoranda nutrix ejus, et gerula, servus patrinus, et alumnus, et formosus assecla, et procurator calamistratus, et in longam securamque libidinem exsectus spado: sub quibus nominibus adulteri [*Al. adulteria*] delitescunt. Quoscumque illa dilexerit, ingratissimum amandi (Migne, XXIII, col. 277).

Il couvient sa beauté louer.  
Et te tien d'autre regarder;  
Il faut qu'apelée soit dame,  
Et que tu jures Nostre Dame  
Qu'elle passe tout en bonté.  
Le jour de sa nativité  
Te doit estre concelebrable,  
  
Et le sa nourice amiable,  
Son aieul, son frere et son oncle

Thou seist also, that it displeeth me  
But-if that thou wolt preyse my beautee,  
And but thou poure alwey up-on my face,<sup>3</sup>  
And clepe me "faire dame" in every place;

And but thou make a feste on thilke day  
That I was born, and make me fresh and  
gay,  
And but thou do to my norice honour,  
And to my chamberere with-inne my bour,

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that Chaucer and Deschamps also agree in omitting "ne ante displiceat," which appears, on the other hand, in the *Roman de la Rose*: "*qu'el ne despièce devant qu'el soit espousée*."

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "*Il te fault encliner sa face*" (l. 1,762).

Et son pere doit tu a l'ongle  
Honorer, amer, conjoir,  
Leurs mesgnies et gens jouir  
Et livrer tout ce qu'il lui fault.<sup>1</sup>

And to my fadres folk and his allies;—  
Thus seistow, olde barel ful of lyes!<sup>2</sup>

As in the preceding instances, it is not open to doubt that Chaucer had the text of St. Jerome before him. But here as there, again, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the *Miroir* supplemented the *Epistola*. Between "celebrandus natalis ejus" and "honoranda nutrix ejus" in Theophrastus comes the sentence "jurandum . . . optandum." In Deschamps, however, "La jour de sa nativité Te doit estre concelebrable" is directly followed by "Et le sa nourice amiable."<sup>3</sup> And in Chaucer, "the feste on thilke day That I was born" is likewise immediately succeeded by "And but thou do my norice honour."<sup>4</sup> But this notable agreement in an omission does not stand alone. It is repeated even more strikingly a few lines farther on. The list of the Wife's hangers-on who are to be held in honor includes, in Theophrastus (after "nutrix ejus, et gerula"), "servus patrinus, et alumnus, et formosus assecla, et procurator calamistratus, et in longam securamque libidinem exsectus spado." In the *Miroir* all after "servus patrinus" are omitted, and in their place are inserted "Son aieul, son frere et son oncle Et son pere . . . Leurs mesgnies et gens"; in Chaucer (who includes "gerula"—"my chamberere"), the whole list after "servus patrinus" is similarly omitted, and instead are substituted "my fadres folk and his allies." The agreement not only in the two omissions but also (in the second case) in the substitution can hardly be dismissed as accidental.

We may return, now, to the long passage (D. 248-75) which has been held, for the moment, in abeyance. Its complication results from an interesting cause—the fact, namely, that in it Chaucer has certainly supplemented St. Jerome by Jean de Meun. That he has supplemented both by the *Miroir* as well is, I think, also clear. I shall first give the passage from Theophrastus in its entirety; the three versions it will be simpler to consider part by part.

<sup>1</sup> *Miroir*, ll. 1,765-77.

<sup>2</sup> D. 293-302.

<sup>3</sup> Deschamps has evidently fallen into a slight error here in his translation.

<sup>4</sup> Deschamps does translate the "jurandum . . . optandum" clause later (ll. 1,778-79); but that has no bearing on the point under discussion.

Pauperem alere, difficile est; divitem ferre, tormentum . . . . Pulchra cito adamatur, foeda facile concupiscit. Difficile custoditur, quod plures amant. Molestum est possidere, quod nemo habere dignetur. Minore tamen miseria deformis habetur, quam formosa servatur. Nihil tutum est, in quod totius populi vota suspirant. Alius forma, alius ingenio, alius facetiis, alius liberalitate sollicitat. Aliquo modo, vel aliquando expugnatur, quod undique incessitur (Migne, XXIII, col. 277).

Et qui vuet povre fame prendre,  
A norrir la l'estuet entendre,  
Et à vestir et à chaucier (R.R. 9,328-30).

S'elle est povre, ce n'est que vent  
Et tourment d'elle soutenir.

—(*Miroir*, ll. 1,758-59).

Thou seist to me, it is a great meschief  
To wedde a povre womman, for costage;

—(D. 248-49).

Inasmuch as Jean de Meun, Deschamps, and Chaucer all agree in interpreting (naturally enough) the "difficile" of Theophrastus with reference to "costage," no safe conclusion can be drawn.

Et se tant se cuide essaucier  
Qu'il la prengne riche forment,  
A soffrir la a grant torment;  
Tant la trueve orgueilleuse et fiere,  
Et sorcuidée et bobancière,  
Que son mari ne prisera  
Riens, et par tout desprisera  
Ses parens et tout son lignage,  
Par son outrecuidé langage (R.R. 9,331-39).

Se tu prans femme qui soit riche,  
C'est le denier Dieu et la briche  
D'avoir des reproches souvent . . . .

Ainsi va merencoliant

Femme et parlant, qui est enclose.

—(*Miroir*, ll. 1,755-57, 1732-33).

And if that she be riche, of heigh parage,  
Than selstow that it is a tormentrye  
To suffre hir pryde and hir malencolye.

—(D. 250-52).

Two things, at least, are obvious in this case. The first is that Deschamps has been influenced by Jean de Meun, whose "par tout desprisera" and "par son outrecuidé langage" are represented in "d'avoir des reproches souvent" of the *Miroir*. The second is that Chaucer also had the *Roman de la Rose* in mind as he wrote. Koepfel has already pointed out<sup>1</sup> the relation of "hir pryde" to "orgueilleuse et fiere." He has (apparently) not noticed that Chaucer's "of heigh parage" (to which nothing corresponds in St. Jerome) is directly implied in the last three lines cited above from the *Roman*.

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, XIV, 254-55.

But a third fact is also clear—namely, that here once more Chaucer has drawn upon Deschamps. For nothing in either Theophrastus or Jean de Meun suggests “and hir *malencolye*.” But only a few lines earlier in the *Miroir*, in the midst of his own paraphrase of this very portion of the “golden book,” Deschamps has paused to tell, with realistic detail, how “*Ainsi va merencoliant Femme et parlant, qui est enclose*.”<sup>1</sup>

S'ele est bele, tuit i aqueurent,  
Tuit la porsivent, tuit l'eneurent,  
Tuit i hurtent, tuit i travaillent,  
Tuit i luitent, tuit i bataillent,  
Tuit à li servir s'estudient,  
Tuit li vont entor, tuit la prient,  
Tuit i musent, tuit la convoitent,  
Si l'ont en la fin, tant exploitent:  
Car tor de toutes pars assise  
Envis eschape d'estre prise (R.R. 9,340-49).

Se tu la prens, qu'elle soit belle,  
Tu n'aras jamais paix a elle,  
Car chascuns la couvoitera,  
Et dure chose a toy sera  
De garder ce que un chascun voite  
Et qu'il poursuit et qu'il couvoite,  
Car tu as contre toy cent oeuux,  
Et li desirs luxurieux  
Est toutes fois contre beauté,  
Qui est contraire a chasteté.  
A paine pourroit belle fame  
Sans grant bonté eschuer blame,  
Com chascuns y tend et y rue,  
Soit en moustier, soit en my rue,  
En son hostel ou aultre part.  
Ly uns des chapeaulx ly depart,  
L'autre robes, l'autre joyaulx,  
L'un fait joustes, festes, cembeaux  
Pour son amour, pour son gent corps;  
L'autre lui envoie dehors  
Chançons, lettres et rondelez,  
Fermaux, frontaulx et aneelez,  
Et dit que de sens n'a pareille,  
S'est de beauté la nompaille.

—(*Miroir*, ll. 1,625-48).

And if that she be fair, thou verray knave,  
Thou seyst that every holour wol hir have;

*She may no whyle in chastitee abyde,  
That is assailed up-on ech a syde.*

Thou seyst, som folk desyre us for richesse,  
Somme for our shap, and somme for our  
fairnesse;  
And som, for she can outhir singe or  
daunce,  
And som, for gentillesse and dalliaunce;  
Som, for hir handes and hir armes smale;  
Thus goth al to the devel by thy tale.  
Thou seyst, men may nat kepe a castel-wal;  
It may so longe assailed been over-al.  
—(D. 253-64).

The relation of Chaucer's first four lines (D. 253-56) to the *Miroir* needs in this case little remark. The correspondence in phraseology with Deschamps as against either Theophrastus or

<sup>1</sup> *Miroir*, ll. 1,732-33. See the whole chapter.

Jean de Meun is patent at a glance. In the next six lines Chaucer seems, as has been pointed out,<sup>1</sup> to have misunderstood the Latin text. At all events, he certainly has shifted the emphasis from the means by which the lady's virtue is assailed to the reasons why she is desired. But it is perhaps worth noting that although Deschamps did *not* misunderstand the Latin text, he none the less gives to "forma," in one of his lines—"pour son amour, pour son gent corps"—precisely the turn which the Wife of Bath adopts throughout—a turn which may either have thrown Chaucer off the track, or have furnished the hint for a change which he intentionally made. In any case, he comes back in the last two lines, as Koepfel has once more pointed out,<sup>2</sup> to the *Roman de la Rose*.

S'el r'est lede, el vuet à tous plaire;  
Et comment porroit nus ce faire  
Qu'il gart chose que tuit guerroient,  
Ou qui vuet tous ceus qui la voient? (R.R. 9,350-53).

S'il est qui preingne femme laide,  
Nulz homs n'ara sur elle envie;  
Et ou sera plus mortel vie  
Qu'a celui qui possidera  
Ce que nulz avoir ne vourra,  
Que il possidera touz seulx?  
—(*Miroir*, ll. 1,736-41).

And if that she be foul, thou seist that she  
Coveteth every man that she may see;  
For as a spaynel she wol on him lepe,  
Til that she finde som man hir to chepe;  
Ne noon so grey goos goth ther in the lake,  
As, seistow, that wol been with-out make.  
And seyst, it is an hard thing for to welde  
A thing that no man wol, his thankes,  
heide. —(D. 265-72).

In ll. 265-70 Chaucer is clearly weaving his own embroidery upon Theophrastus's "foeda facile concupiscit." And ll. 271-72 seem to be drawn directly from the Latin text—although "an hard thing" (for "*molestum*") recalls Deschamps's "dure chose" (for "*difficile*") above.<sup>3</sup>

So far as the citations from Theophrastus, therefore, are concerned, there seems to be little doubt that Chaucer has made use, in his own adaptation of the *Aureolus liber*, of the poem of Deschamps in which the excerpts had already taken on a more or less dramatic *mise en scène*. But the Wife's indebtedness to Deschamps does not stop there.

In the twenty-first chapter of the *Miroir* occurs Deschamps's paraphrase of those lines of Theophrastus which Chaucer rehearses

<sup>1</sup> Koepfel, *Anglia*, XIII, 176; cf. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 298.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, XIV, 255.

<sup>3</sup> L. 1,628.

in the *Merchant's Tale*.<sup>1</sup> But Deschamps carries the situation one step farther than Theophrastus. In the *Miroir* the husband whose wife has been waiting "ay after his good" at length dies. And now the account goes on:

Elle emporte plus que le tiers,  
Et s'a a part tout desrobé,  
Sa proye prins comme un hobé  
Pour un autre qui la prandra.  
*Et sçavez vous qu'il advendra?*  
Du service, obsequie et les lays  
Oir voudra parler jamais,  
Excepté d'une courte messe;  
*Et regardera, en la presse*  
*A porter le deffunct en terre,*  
*Quel mari elle pourra querre*  
*Et avoir après cesti cy.*<sup>2</sup>

The parallel with the procedure of the Wife of Bath is obvious at once:

To chirche was myn housbond born a-morwe  
With neighebores, that for him maden sorwe;  
And Jankin oure clerk was oon of tho.  
As help me god, whan that I saugh him go  
After the bere, me thoughte he hadde a paire  
Of legges and of feet so clene and faire,  
That al myn herte I yaf un-to his hold . . .  
What sholde I seye, but, at the monthes ende,  
This joly clerk Jankin, that was so hende,  
Hath wedded me with greet solempnitee,  
And to him yaf I al the lond and fee  
That ever was me yeven ther-bifore.<sup>3</sup>

The telling concreteness of detail is Chaucer's own; the pith of the situation is in Deschamps.

<sup>1</sup> *Miroir*, ll. 1,916-53; E. 1,296-1,304; see above, p. 7. The Latin text, so far as it is pertinent, is quoted in the *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 354. And there are indications that Chaucer here, as in the *Wife's Prologue*, had the *Miroir* beside him as he translated St. Jerome. The passage from Theophrastus is in the *third* person; Deschamps and Chaucer agree in transferring it to the more vivid *second*. With "thy dispence" (E. 1,297) compare "ta despence"; with "For she wol clayme half part al hir lyf" (E. 1,300) compare "Car tout est sien a son advis" (l. 1,931), and especially "Elle emporte plus que le tiers" (l. 1,966).

<sup>2</sup> LL. 1,966-77.

<sup>3</sup> D. 593-99, 627-31. With the last two lines compare Deschamps's "Pour un autre qui la prandre" (l. 1,969).



At the opening of the long and graphically realistic harangue in which the mother-in-law inculcates upon the husband her conviction that his wife is being too strictly detained at home, appear the following lines:

Se ta femme crout en maison  
Et garde le feu et les cendres,  
Elle en vault pis, tes noms est mendres;  
D'oneur ne sçara tant ne quant,  
S'iert comme une chievre vacant  
Qui ne scet que brouter et paistre,  
*Ou comme un chat qui est en l'aistre,*  
*Qui brulle son poil et qui l'art.*<sup>1</sup>

So *la mere*. But with the precise turn which *le mari* would give to it, the Wife of Bath (who obviously needed no mother to speak for her!) avails herself of the analogy:

*Thou seydest this, that I was lyk a cat;  
For who-so wolde senge a cattes skin,  
Thanne wolde the cat wel dwellen in his in;  
And if the cattes skin be slyk and gay,  
She wol nat dwelle in house half a day,  
But forth she wole, er any day be dawed,  
To shewe hir skin, and goon a-caterwawed;  
This is to seye, if I be gay, sir shrewe,  
I wol renne out, my borel for to shewe.*<sup>2</sup>

Just this last couplet, in fact, sums up (once more from the husband's point of view) the gist of *la mere's* whole argument; for the next thing we learn in the *Miroir*, with a wealth of picturesque detail, is how the wife *does* run out her borel for to show—"comment le mari aveuglé par les paroles de la mere laisse aler sa femme . . . par tout viloter."<sup>3</sup>

I have said that the Wife of Bath needed no mother to speak for her. That is, of course, not strictly in accordance with the facts. For twice, it will be recalled, the Wife expressly adverts to her mother's tutelage:

*My dame taughte me that soutiltee. . . .  
But as I folwed ay my dames lore,  
As wel of this as of other things more.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 3,207-15.

<sup>2</sup> D. 348-56.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. xxxvii, rubric.

<sup>4</sup> D. 576, 583-84.

Koeppel suggests<sup>1</sup> that "my dame" is here "La Vielle" of Jean de Meun. But a reading of the racy chapters<sup>2</sup> in which Deschamps elucidates *la mere's* "lore," as well as of the no less piquant sections<sup>3</sup> which disclose her daughter's aptitude for following it, "as wel of this as of other thinges more"—such a reading will leave little doubt of "my dame's" identity.

Moreover, it is in the last-named chapters that another interesting parallel appears. The Wife of Bath's husbands

. . . . were ful glad whan I spak to hem fayre;  
For god it woot, I chidde hem spitously. . . .  
Thus shul ye speke and bere hem wrong on honde;  
For half so boldely can ther no man  
Swere and lyen as a womman can. . . .  
A wys wyf, if that she can hir good,  
Shal beren him on hond the cow is wood,  
*And take witnesse of hir owene mayde*  
*Of hir assent.*<sup>4</sup>

In the *Miroir* the Wife has been availing herself to the full<sup>5</sup> of the opportunity her trickery has won "par tout viloter," and is anticipating her husband's reprimand:

*Demandez a vo chamberiere*  
*Se j'ay en mauvais lieu esté.*<sup>6</sup>

Few things in the poem, indeed, are more graphic than the scene which follows between the brow-beaten husband and the maid who is playing into her mistress' hands:

Lors pour elle jeter de blame,  
Fuit en sa chambre d'un escueil  
Et se couche la larme a l'ueil,  
Pour plus son mary assoter.  
Et adonc la va convoier  
Sa chamberiere, et s'en retourne:  
Dolente est et fait chiere mourne;  
Et ly maris la tient de plait,  
Demendans que sa femme fait.

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, XIV, 253.

<sup>2</sup> Chaps. xxxiv-xxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Chaps. xxxviii-xxxix: "Comment la femme revenue de viloter tance et brait, et puis, pour mieulx decevoir son mary, s'en va couchier; comment le povre dolereus envelopé de paroles promet a sa femme qu'il lui laissera faire a son gré et lui crie mercy."

<sup>4</sup> D. 222-34.

<sup>5</sup> See chap. xxxvii.

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 3,634-35.

Et la chamberiere engigneuse  
 Respond: "Ma dame est maleureuse,  
 Quant onques tel homme espousa," etc.<sup>1</sup>

And the ensuing dialogue, which is (unfortunately) too long to quote, is in the excellent vein of the Wife of Bath herself.

Nor is this the only point of contact between these two accounts. The Wife of Bath's policy, when she was in the wrong, was clearly defined, and strategically unimpeachable; it was simply to carry the war into Africa:

I coude pleyne, thogh I were in the gilt,  
 Or elles often tyme hadde I ben spilt.  
 Who-so that first to mille comth, first grint;  
*I playned first*, so was our werre y-stint.  
 They were ful glad t'excusen hem ful blyve  
 Of thing of which they never agilte hir lyve.<sup>2</sup>

The Wife in the *Miroir* takes precisely the same tack:

Il fault que son mari deçoive  
 Au revenir, qui longuement  
 L'a attendue; et Dieux! comment  
 Il se cource de la demeure!  
*Et elle se commence en l'euire*  
*A plourer et a esmouvoir:*  
 "Lasse! j'en doy bien tant avoir,  
 Qui ne finay huy a journée  
 D'aler! De maleure fuy née! . . . .  
 Je croy que vous devenez fols  
 Qui ainsis m'alez riotant:  
 Or en alez querir autant! . . . .  
 Mesler ne vous voulez de rien.  
 Mais puis que femme fera bien,  
 Son mari la tourmentera  
 Ne jamès bien ne lui fera."<sup>3</sup>

The Wife of Bath, moreover, used for her ends a particular stratagem:

Of wenches wolde I beren him on honde.<sup>4</sup>

The wife in the *Miroir* was thoroughly familiar with the same device:

Vous avez nostre chamberiere  
 Requis d'amour .II. foiz ou trois;  
 Vous estes alez pluseurs fois

<sup>1</sup> Li. 3,644-55.

<sup>2</sup> D. 387-92.

<sup>3</sup> Li. 3,600-8, 3,620-22, 3,629-32.

<sup>4</sup> D. 393.

Veoir Helot et Eudeline,  
Ysabel, Margot, Kateline  
Et couché aux femmes communes.<sup>1</sup>

One of the objections which Repertoire de Science urges against marriage is that

Quant le povre deduit du lit  
Est passé par aucunes nuis,  
Lors te saudront les grans ennuis,  
Car tu ne pourras achever  
Son delit sanz ton corps grever,  
Qui adonc reposer voudras;  
Mais Dieux scet que tu ne pourras  
Rendre le deu qu'elle demande  
Quant au delit.<sup>2</sup>

Precisely that is one of the achievements on which the Wife of Bath enlarges most complacently:

Unnethe mighte they the statut holde  
In which that they were bounden un-to me.  
Ye woot wel what I mene of this, pardee!  
As help me god, I laughe whan I thinke  
How pitously a-night I made hem swinke. . . .  
What sholde I taken hede hem for to plese,  
But it were for my profit and myn ese?  
I sette hem so a-werke, by my fey,  
That many a night they songen "weilawey!"<sup>3</sup>

The Wife of Bath retorts upon her husband his objections to her fine array:

Thou seyst also, *that if we make us gay  
With clothing and with precious array,  
That it is peril of our chastitee.*<sup>4</sup>

And almost the very words which the Wife puts into her husband's mouth are actually urged by Repertoire in his counsel to Franc Vouloir:

Et se tu consens que leurs tresses  
A fil d'or soient galonnées  
*Et qu'elles soient ordonnées  
De soye et de fins autres draps,*

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 3,920-25. For the parallel in the *Roman de la Rose*, see *Anglia*, XIV, 251.

<sup>2</sup> . . . 1,576-84.

<sup>3</sup> D. 198-202, 213-16.

<sup>4</sup> D. 337-39.

Que feras tu? Tu nourriras  
Le vice d'impudicité,  
Qui détruira leur chasteté.<sup>1</sup>

The Wife of Bath strenuously objects to her husband's oversight of her:

What nedeth thee of me to enquire or spyen?  
I trowe, thou woldest loke me in thy cheste!  
Thou sholdest seye, "*wyf, go wher thee leste,*  
Tak your disport, I wol nat leve no talis;  
I knowe yow for a trewe wyf, dame Alis."  
We love no man that taketh keep or charge  
Wher that we goon, we wol ben at our large.<sup>2</sup>

It is exactly this permission to "ben at large" which *la mere* brow-beats the husband into granting:

Lors a congié d'aler en ville,  
Au marchié, au corps et aux nopces,  
Aux poys, aux feves et aux cosses,  
Au moustier, aux festes, aux champs;  
Or est aveuylés ly meschans:  
*Or va sa femme ou elle veult.*<sup>3</sup>

And the Wife's tirades in the *Miroir* when the privilege is abridged are no less vehement than those of the Wife of Bath herself:

Se son marie la laidange . . .  
. . . . que trop souvent va en ville,  
Elle respont: "Li cent et mille  
Dyables d'enfer y aient part!  
N'oseray je aler temple et tart  
Sur ma mere et sur mon cousin?  
J'ay esté sur nostre voisin  
Dès huy main, qu'il m'envoya querre.  
Je sçay mainte femme qui erre  
Et demeure un jour tout entier," etc.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 1,878-84. Compare also Folie's remarks, ll. 8,672-91.

<sup>2</sup> D. 316-22.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 3,520-25.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 3,871, 3,878-85. Or compare the following:

"Li jours soit maudis  
Que je fus onques mariée!  
Lasse! je doy bien estre irée,  
Quant on a sur moy souspeçon  
Sanz cause! Mieux a un garçon  
Me vaulsist avoir esté femme!  
Mon propre mari me diffame,  
Qui ne me laist en compaignie  
Aler; nul temps ne m'esbanie,  
A feste ne vois n'a carole;  
Neis me deffent il la parole,  
Ne je n'ose aler au moustier!" etc. (ll. 1,706-17).

See also ll. 3,109-16.

"What wenestow," the Wife of Bath exclaims:

What wenestow make an idiot of our dame?<sup>1</sup>

"Ta femme," *la mere* insists, in pointing out the results of a similar policy:

Ta femme seroit comme beste.<sup>2</sup>

When we consider, then, the closeness with which certain of the most characteristic traits and tactics of the Wife of Bath have their counterparts in the propensities and the maneuvers of the Wife in the *Miroir*; when we add to this the fact that the Theophrastian paragraphs in the *Prologue* show distinct traces of the influence of the corresponding passages in the *Miroir*; and when, finally, we take into account the striking use of the *Miroir* in the *Merchant's Tale*, it seems impossible to doubt that Chaucer was indebted to Deschamps for a number of the salient features of his conception of the Wife of Bath.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D. 311.

<sup>2</sup> L. 3,225. Another of Chaucer's phrases occurs *verbatim* in one of the rubrics of the *Miroir*. The Wife of Bath, in speaking of her walk in the fields (cf. *Miroir*, l. 3,523, p. 38 above: "aux champs") remarks:

I hadde the better leyser for to pleye,  
And for to see, and eek for to be seye  
Of lusty folk (D. 551-53).

Chap. xlii of the *Miroir* points out "comment aler aux festes et aux places communes fut introduit pour traictier d'amours, et encore le fait l'on a present." And the rubric of chap. xliii is as follows: "Comment femmes procurent aler aux pardons, non pas pour devocion qu'elles alent, mais pour veoir et estre veues." The line in question is also in the *Roman de la Rose* (see Koepfel, *Anglia*, XIV, 254; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 304), and harks back ultimately to Ovid, *Ars Amat.*, l. 99. And ll. 555 ff. of the *Prologue* are clearly reminiscent of the *Roman de la Rose* (see Skeat, as above). But the whole context of the reference in the *Miroir* (see especially chap. xlii) is in striking accord with that in Chaucer.

<sup>3</sup> There is one point in the description of the Wife of Bath in the *General Prologue* which raises the question whether it too may not be due to the influence of the *Miroir*. I refer to the Wife's attitude toward precedence at the offering (A. 449-52). Professor Kittredge (who, it should be said, makes no suggestion that Chaucer was influenced by Deschamps, but merely points out that the passage in the *Miroir* illustrates the *Prologue*) has called attention in the April number of this journal (VII, 475) to a passage in the *Miroir* (ll. 3,262-91; compare the whole chapter) which was in my own manuscript before I was aware of his note. This account of the etiquette of the offering is one of the most spirited bits of *genre* painting in the poem, and should be supplemented by a reading of the no less lively rehearsal (in the following chap., xxxvi) of the similar amenities practiced by the Wife's townswomen at the reception of the Eucharist, and on leaving the church (compare also VIII, 156-57, No. 1,462: "De ceulz qui refusent la paix au moustier," and especially *Miroir*, ll. 9,165-95, 9,283-321, where the theme of the offering reappears; add further the amusing "Assaut de politesse" of *balade* No. 1,031, V, 305; and compare the similar scene in Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, Act II, sc. iv). Now it is from the opening of chap. xxxv that the Wife of Bath seems to have drawn her figure of the singed cat (see above, p. 34), and the question at once arises whether the detail of the offering in the *General Pro-*

## IV

The influence of the *Miroir de Mariage* upon the *Merchant's Tale* and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* is, as we have seen, considerable, both in its extent and in its character. In less thoroughgoing fashion, but still unmistakably, the same influence appears in three other passages in Chaucer's work, in two of which it is again definitely linked with the epistle of St. Jerome.

*logue* was not suggested by the *Miroir* too. It is a tempting hypothesis; but there are difficulties in the way. The Wife of Bath's frank displeasure ("certayn, so wroth was she That she was out of alle charitee") is exactly the opposite of the elaborately courteous (if none the less delicately feline) amenities of the ladies in the *Miroir*, and much more in keeping with the attitude of the Host's wife under similar circumstances (B. 3,091-103). The whole *tone* of the account of the Wife in the *General Prologue*, indeed, seems to be different from that of the Wife's *Prologue* (see also Tatlock, 209-10) and of the *Miroir* alike. The Wife in the *Miroir*, for example, like the Wife of Bath, goes on pilgrimages, but they are undertaken specifically to hoodwink her husband (see especially *Miroir*, II. 3,500-509, 3,726-31), and obviously do not afford the suggestion for the account in the *General Prologue*. In a word, it is hard to imagine that Chaucer could have written that account just as he has, *after* he had read the *Miroir*.

There is, however, another factor in the problem which renders it peculiarly perplexing. It seems (at first sight) as if the detail in the *General Prologue* might readily enough have had another source. For it appears in the *Parson's Tale* (§ 25, 405), as one of the signs of the "privee spece of Pryde" there rehearsed: "And eek he waiteth or desyreth to sitte, or elles to goon above him in the wey, or kisse paz, or been encensed, or goon to ofring biforn his neighebores, and swiche semblable thinges." But just this passage is itself suspicious. For it will be noticed at once that the going above in the way and the precedence in kissing the pax are precisely the two points which (together with the exit from the church) are associated with precedence at the offering in the *Miroir*:

Or recouient laisser a destre  
Le chemin et aler le hault  
Aux plus grans; et celle qui fault  
Ou qui de soy prant le desseure,  
De toutes sera couru seure,  
En lui disant: "Prenez le bas." . . .  
Et quant vient a la paix lier, . . .  
L'une la prant, l'autre la saiche . . .  
—Dame, prenez, sainte Marie,  
Portez la paix a la baillie.  
—Non, mais a la gouvernesse. . . .  
Et certes honnie seroit  
Celle qui celle paix prandroit  
Au premier coup sanz refuser,  
Et en verriez femme ruser,  
Et l'estrangier trestoute vive:  
"Resgardez la meschant chetive,  
Qui n'a pas vaillant une drame,  
Et a prins devant celle dame  
La paix et celle damoiselle:  
Il n'appartenoit point a elle."

(II. 3,376-81, 3,292-93, 3,305-7, 3,311-20).

Furthermore, this particular section of the *Parson's Tale* has nothing corresponding to it either in Lorenz (Petersen, *The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, 36, n. 4; *Essays in Chaucer*, Part V, 515) or—we may infer from Miss Petersen's silence—in Raymund or Peraldus. We are forced to inquire, therefore, whether the paragraph in the *Parson's Tale* may not itself be merely another borrowing from the *Miroir*. I have not present access, unfortunately, to a sufficient number of mediaeval treatises upon the seven deadly sins to reach a definite conclusion. If these particular outward and visible signs of pride are peculiar (among such treatises) to the *Parson's Tale*, it is possible, if not even probable,



In the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women* occurs the well-known passage,<sup>1</sup> peculiar to A, in which the God of Love takes Chaucer to task for his failure to make the proper use of his own books—a passage which rests, of course, in large measure, upon “Jerome ageyns Jovinian.”<sup>2</sup> But it has striking correspondences with an interesting section of the *Miroir de Mariage* as well. It will be remembered that Proserpine’s defense of women (which is linked with her censure of Solomon)<sup>3</sup> calls to witness both the Christian martyrs and the examples of constancy commemorated in the “Romayn gestes.” And it will further be recalled that this defense gives evidence of the influence of just that portion of the *Miroir* which had already been laid under contribution in the accounts of Judith and Esther.<sup>4</sup> Now in the midst of this very same passage in Deschamps occurs a protest against the traducing of women which closely parallels the similar protest of the God of Love:

Why noldest thou as wel han seyde goodnesse  
Of women, as thou hast seyde wikkednesse?<sup>5</sup>  
Doit on donc femmes desprisier?  
Nenil, mais les doit on prisier. . . .  
Bien doit estre villains tenuz  
Qui escript ne dit de sa bouche  
Laidure de femme ou reprouche.<sup>6</sup>

And within a dozen lines the parallel becomes a *verbal* one:

Of sundry women, which lyf that they	Car j'oseray gaigier et mettre
ladde,	Que pour une qu'om treuve en lettre
And ever an hundred gode ageyn oon badde. <sup>7</sup>	Qui a mal fait, j'en trouveray
	Mille bonnes. <sup>8</sup>

that Chaucer has introduced them from Deschamps. And in that case, the probability that the detail in the *General Prologue* has a different source is lessened by just so much.

But on the other hand, again, the date (1387-88) of the *General Prologue* (see Tatlock, 142-50) is almost certainly too early to admit of the influence of the *Miroir*, unless we assume that the account of the Wife was a later addition to the *General Prologue*, made at the time when her own *Prologue* was planned. Miss Hammond (*Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, 256; cf. 254-57) seems to take this view of the relation between the portrait and the autobiography, and there is certainly something to be said in its behalf. But Miss Hammond herself suggests it only tentatively, and it needs further support from facts.

On the whole, the evidence for any influence of the *Miroir* on the account of the Wife of Bath in the *General Prologue* is so far inconclusive.

<sup>1</sup> A. 268-312.

<sup>2</sup> Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 302-3; ten Brink, *Englische Studien*, XVII, 15-16; Koepfel, *Anglia*, XIII, 174-75; etc.

<sup>3</sup> E. 2,277-85.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> A. 268-69.

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 9,081-82, 9,084-86.

<sup>7</sup> A. 276-77.

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 9,097-100; see below, p. 43.

Moreover, the God of Love's insistence on the wealth of material at hand finds its counterpart at the close of the list of *exempla* which the *Miroir* gives:

J'ay de leurs bontez mille exemples,  
Voire par Dieu plaines mes temples,  
Pour faire et escrire un grant livre.<sup>1</sup>

And the upshot of Cupid's argument is precisely the conclusion of Deschamps:

These olde women kepte so hir name,	Et encores, pour le voir dire,
That in this world I trow men shal not	Trueve femmes en leur martire
finde	Avoir esté cent mille tans
A man that coude be so trewe and kinde,	Plus devotes et plus constans
As was the leste woman in that tyde. <sup>2</sup>	Assez que les hommes ne furent. <sup>3</sup>

When we consider, accordingly, that the parallels (which are both general and verbal) between the A-version of the *Prologue* and the *Miroir de Mariage* are with precisely that portion of the *Miroir* which is drawn upon by Chaucer in a notably similar connection (as well as elsewhere) in the *Merchant's Tale*, and when we recall that in both these passages in Chaucer the parallels with the *Miroir* are closely linked with the Epistle of Jerome against Jovinian, the evidence becomes cumulative in its character. And the A-version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women*, it would seem, must be added to the *Merchant's Tale* and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* in the account of Chaucer's indebtedness to the *Miroir de Mariage* of Deschamps.

But even that does not seem quite to close the reckoning. The relation between the God of Love's observations and the Complaint of Dorigen in the *Franklin's Tale*<sup>4</sup> has frequently been pointed out.<sup>5</sup> The Complaint, in a word, rehearses *in extenso* what the God of Love contents himself with merely summing up—namely, the six chapters<sup>6</sup> in St. Jerome immediately preceding the extract from Theophrastus. But the two passages correspond in another respect as well. For when Chaucer rehearses in Dorigen's Complaint the chapters of Jerome which he summarizes in the A-*Prologue*, he also recalls the

<sup>1</sup> Li. 9,153-55.

<sup>2</sup> A. 301-04.

<sup>3</sup> Li. 9,063-67.

<sup>4</sup> F. 1,355-456.

<sup>5</sup> See especially ten Brink, *Eng. Stud.*, XVII, 15-16.

<sup>6</sup> Chaps. xli-xlvi.

other source from which, as we have now seen, that summary is drawn. For Dorigen's

*Mo than a thousand stories, as I guesse,  
Coude I now telle as touchinge this matere,*<sup>1</sup>

is Deschamps's

*J'ay de leurs bontez mille exemples,*<sup>2</sup>

which closes the very list of *exempla* that Chaucer makes use of in the passage in the *A-Prologue*—as he also employs it in the *Merchant's Tale*.<sup>3</sup> For the fourth time, accordingly, "Jerome ageyns Jovinian" and the *Miroir de Mariage* appear together.

But we are not yet quite at the end of the list. Both Proserpine and the God of Love take occasion to set good women sharply over against bad. And both in doing so draw directly on the *Miroir de Mariage*. Now in the *Miller's Prologue* the Miller likewise expresses himself on the subject of good wives and bad. And he uses with even greater literalness than the God of Love himself the phraseology of Deschamps:

Ther been ful gode wyves many oon,  
And ever a thousand gode ayeyns oon badde,  
That knowestow wel thy-self, but-if thou madde.<sup>4</sup>

Car j'oseray gaigier et mettre  
Que pour une qu'om treuve en lettre  
Qui a mal fait, j'en trouveray  
Mille bonnes.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, it is clear that either the *Miller's Prologue* is reminiscent of the *A-Prologue*, or vice versa. For the Miller's "That knowestow

<sup>1</sup> F. 1,412-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Miroir*, I. 9,153.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 19-20. There is one particularly striking parallel, it should be noted, between the *Franklin's Tale* and the *Merchant's Tale*:

Preynges our lord to granten him, that he  
Mighte ones knowe of thiske blisful lyf  
That is bitwize an housbond and his wyf (E. 1,259-61);  
Who coude telle, but he had wedded be,  
The joye, the ese, and the prosperitee  
That is bitwize an housbonde and his wyff  
A yeer and more lasted this blisful lyf (F. 803-6).

With F. 803 compare also E. 1,340-41:

The blisse which that is bitwixe hem tweye  
Ther may no longe telle—

and with F. 802 compare E. 1,273. The fact that the lines in the *Merchant's Tale* form an essential part of the opening statement of its very theme, whereas in the *Franklin's Tale* they are wholly incidental, may have some bearing on the relative dates of the two *Tales*. But that is a matter I do not care at this point to pursue.

<sup>4</sup> A. 3,154-56. The last two lines are in E. Cm. HL. only. See *Six Text*, 90; *Oxford Chaucer*, IV. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Miroir*, II. 9,097-100.

wel thy-self" and Cupid's "This knoweth god, and alle clerkes eek" have no parallel in the *Miroir*. The exact agreement between the Miller's "thousand gode" and Deschamps's "mille bonnes" (as against Cupid's "hundred gode") seems at first blush to point to the priority of the Miller's words. On the other hand, "This knoweth god, and alle clerkes eek" bears every mark of being the original which the Miller's more commonplace line recalls. And this inference gains weight when we observe that the Reeve's words which evoke the Miller's retort are themselves reminiscent of the God of Love's much more explicit statement of the case:

It is a sinne and eek a greet folye  
To apeiren any man, or him diffame,  
And eek to bringen wyves in swich fame.  
Thou mayst y-nogh of othere thinges seyn.<sup>1</sup>

Compare:

Why noldest thou as wel han seyde goodnesse  
Of women, as thou hast seyde wikkednesse?  
Was ther no good matere in thy minde?<sup>2</sup>

It seems safe to conclude, then, that in the *Miller's Prologue* Chaucer recalled the A-version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend*,<sup>3</sup> and with it (and even more definitely) the phraseology of the *Miroir de Mariage* itself.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. 3,146-49.

<sup>2</sup> A-Prol. 267-69.

<sup>3</sup> The presence of the two lines of the *Miller's Prologue* (A. 3,155-56) in E. Cm. HL. only, gives some ground for believing that their insertion may have been an afterthought.

<sup>4</sup> There is a passage in the *Miller's Tale* which is also of uncommon interest. The two lines A. 3,381-82 have caused the scribes (and the commentators too) some perplexity:

For som folk wol ben wonnen for richesse,  
And som for strokes, and som for gentillesse.

Professor Skeat's note reads as follows: "A sidenote, in several MSS, says: 'Unde Ovidius: Ictibus agrestis.' But the quotation is not from Ovid" (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 104). The couplet, however, is obviously an adaptation of the sentence of Theophrastus which Chaucer puts also into the mouth of the Wife of Bath: "Alius forma, alius ingenio, alius faciliis, alius liberalitate sollicitat" (*Migne, Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, col. 277):

Thou seyst, som folk desyre us for richesse,  
Som for our shap, and som for our fairnesse;  
And som, for she can outhere singe or daunce,  
And som, for gentillesse and dalliaunce

(D. 257-60; see above, pp. 31-32).

Moreover, there are decided indications that in the Miller's lines Chaucer once again recalled not only Theophrastus, but the *Miroir* too. For Deschamps, as we have already seen (p. 31, above), amplified this very sentence of Theophrastus into a list of the means by which another man's wife is wooed—"soit en moustier, soit . . . en son hostel" (ll. 1,639-40; compare A. 3,340-42, 3,348-51, 3,356). And the couplet in the *Miller's Tale* closes precisely such a summary, in Chaucer's most vivid and realistic vein, of the means by which Absolon conducts his wooing of the old carpenter's "yonge wyf." The two passages (A. 3,371-80 and *Miroir*, ll. 1,635-55) should be read in full.

## V

If the conclusions that have thus far been reached are sound, they raise, it is obvious, a number of interesting questions. And first among these, perhaps, is one which will doubtless suggest itself to everyone: May the *Miroir de Mariage* have been among the *œuvres d'escolier* which Deschamps sent to Chaucer by the hand of Clifford, together with the courtly compliment of the *balade*?

The probable date of Clifford's embassy I have elsewhere discussed in detail,<sup>1</sup> and have shown that it cannot well have come about before the early part of 1386. If the *Miroir de Mariage* were under way much before 1385,<sup>2</sup> at least its opening sections may, of course, have been available for transmission in 1386. And it would be rash indeed categorically to assert that they were not so sent. But there is, nevertheless, at least one consideration which strongly points the other way. Chaucer draws, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> both in the *Merchant's Tale* and in the *A-Prologue* to the *Legend* (to say nothing of the *Miller's Prologue* and the *Franklin's Tale*) upon the *later* portion of the *Miroir*. Now Raynaud's ground for assigning the latter part of the poem to a date after 1385 is conclusive.<sup>4</sup> It is extremely doubtful, therefore, whether the first nine thousand and odd lines of the *Miroir* were ready to be sent across the Channel in the early spring of 1386.<sup>5</sup> That occasion, however, by no means exhausts the possibilities.

That there were later opportunities for communication through Clifford (not to speak of other means) between Deschamps and Chaucer I have also had occasion elsewhere to point out.<sup>6</sup> Clifford jousted in the tournament of Saint Inglevert, March 21, 1389-90; in the Barbary expedition of the same year he was closely associated with the circle of Deschamps's acquaintances; and his mission to Paris in 1391 may, of course, have afforded further opportunities

<sup>1</sup> *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 755-71.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 1, however, where I have shown that Raynaud's suggestion that the poem was under way in 1381 rests on doubtful grounds.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 17 ff., 41 ff., above.

<sup>4</sup> XI, 198.

<sup>5</sup> It may be questioned, too, whether Deschamps in any case would have referred to the *Miroir* as one of his "*œuvres d'escolier*"—even granting that his term is one of merely conventional depreciation.

<sup>6</sup> See *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 769 for fuller references. And compare throughout Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, I, 1 ff., *passim*.

for meeting with Deschamps. On none of these occasions, however, have we any evidence that such a meeting actually took place. There is, on the other hand, documentary attestation of the fact that Deschamps and Clifford *were* together early in 1393. For Clifford was one of the commissioners sent that year to negotiate for peace with France;<sup>1</sup> and the Epilogue to Deschamps's *Complaint de l'Eglise* reads as follows: "Ceste epistre fist et compila Eustace des Champs, dit Morel, au traictié de la paix des .ii. rois de France et d'Angleterre, estans pour lors a Lolinghem, et la mist de Latin en François au commandement de Monseigneur de Bourgogne."<sup>2</sup> The epistle is dated "le .xiii<sup>e</sup>. jour du moys d'Avril après Pasques, l'an de grace Nostre Seigneur mil .ccc. iiiii<sup>xx</sup>. et treize."<sup>3</sup> There is, accordingly, incontrovertible evidence of a meeting between Deschamps and Clifford in the early spring of 1393.

But did the negotiations in Picardy afford an opportunity for the *Miroir de Mariage* to come into Chaucer's hands? We are dealing here, of course, with inferences, and are, accordingly, on somewhat less firm ground. But certain things we may conclude with some assurance regarding this meeting in the spring of 1393. For one thing, it will be granted (I imagine) without argument that a renewal of the acquaintance between Deschamps and Clifford would carry with it a recurrence to what was certainly, on the previous occasion, a matter of keen interest to Deschamps. And the news which Clifford could (without doubt) convey to him of Chaucer's activities would be calculated not only to stir anew the earlier interest, but also (one may guess) to pique to a certain emulation. Moreover, life during the negotiations was not ascetic, as the *balade* "Sur l'ordre de la Baboue,"<sup>4</sup> written at this time,<sup>5</sup> gives ample evidence. And "l'amoureux Cliffort" of the earlier *balade*<sup>6</sup> would certainly renew old friendships and associations. Furthermore, there happens to be a very specific reason why the theme of the *Miroir de Mariage*

<sup>1</sup> For his commission (dated February 22, 1392-93) see Rymer, VII, 738-39. The names of his fellow commissioners are given also by Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, I, 12, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 311.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> V, 13, No. 927. See Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 346-47, for an account of the entertainment of the envoys the year before.

<sup>5</sup> See XI, 68.

<sup>6</sup> III, 375, No. 536. For its date between 1386 and 1392 see Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, I, 7, n. 3.

(and probably the poem itself) would be particularly fresh in Deschamps's mind at just this time. Less than a week after he dated his *Complaint de l'Eglise* Deschamps received (on April 18) from the Duke of Orleans the sum of four hundred francs in gold "pour 'accroissement de mariage de sa fille.'"<sup>1</sup> And the approaching marriage of his daughter inspired a group of poems<sup>2</sup> quite in the vein of the *Miroir* itself. To Clifford especially, indeed, with whose name a *balade* on this very theme of marriage had already been intimately associated,<sup>3</sup> the longer poem would be a matter of undoubted interest. Moreover, there is evidence, curiously enough, that just this occasion *did* actually constitute a sort of poetical exchange. For it was during those same negotiations that Froissart received from the Duke of Orleans twenty francs in gold for his *Dit royal*; and it is possible that the volume of *Méliador*, "couvert de velours vert," which later belonged to the library of Charles d'Orleans, was purchased on the same occasion.<sup>4</sup> It is, indeed, not impossible that Deschamps, whose fortunes were at rather a low ebb,<sup>5</sup> may, like Froissart, have availed himself of the presence of an interested *connoisseur* to accept an order for an exemplar of the *Miroir*. And finally, the fact that there seems to be no evidence of the publication of the *Miroir* during Deschamps's lifetime points strongly to some *private* channel as the means by which it reached England. In a word, it is quite clear that the negotiations of 1393 afforded, in one way or another, the amplest opportunity for the *Miroir de Mariage* to come into Chaucer's hands.

Let us turn, now, to the poems which are indebted to the *Miroir*, and see if any further light is thrown upon our problem. There are (as we have seen) three poems in which the *Miroir de Mariage* and the epistle of St. Jerome are intimately linked<sup>6</sup>—the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, the *Merchant's Tale*, and the A-version of the *Pro-*

<sup>1</sup> XI, 68. It is not without interest to observe, for its parallel with certain of Chaucer's experiences, that this grant remained unpaid on August 6, 1396! See XI, 68, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 1,004, 1,149, 1,150, 1,234, 1,407; see XI, 71.

<sup>3</sup> No. 536: "Faut-il épouser une femme jeune et belle?"

<sup>4</sup> XI, 68; Longnon, *Méliador*, I, xlvii-lx. It was in this same month of April at Boulogne that the duke of Burgundy gave the duke of Lancaster some tapestry hangings portraying the history of Clovis. See Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 349, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See especially XI, 71-72.

<sup>6</sup> I pass over, for the moment, the *Franklin's Tale* (in which Jerome's epistle also figures largely) and the *Miller's Prologue*.



logue to the *Legend of Good Women*. And the relative dates of two of the three are fixed beyond possible doubt. For the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* is explicitly mentioned in the *Merchant's Tale*, and must necessarily have preceded it.<sup>1</sup> But Tatlock has recently shown<sup>2</sup> that there is some reason for believing that the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* also preceded the A-version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend*. To the considerations there adduced may be added a bit of evidence which is much more nearly conclusive. The *Wife of Bath*, it will be remembered, in pointing out why "no womman of no clerk is preyed," goes on to declare that

The clerk, whan he is old, and may noght do  
Of Venus werkis worth his olde sho,  
Than sit he doun, and writ in his dotage  
That wommen can nat kepe hir mariage!<sup>3</sup>

In the A-*Prologue* the God of Love insists, in one of the well-known passages peculiar to that version:

Wel wot I ther-by thou beginnest dote  
As olde foles, whan hir spirit fayleth;  
Than blame they folk, and wite nat what hem ayleth.<sup>4</sup>

It can scarcely be doubted that the one passage has suggested the other. But the lines of the *Wife* are part and parcel of a closely coherent argument, whereas the words of Cupid bear all the earmarks of an afterthought. There is, therefore, good ground for the conclusion that the God of Love is echoing the *Wife of Bath*, and that the *Wife's Prologue*, accordingly, antedates the A-*Prologue* to the *Legend*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Tatlock, 204; and compare 201-5 for other evidence that the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* and the *Merchant's Tale* were written close together.

<sup>2</sup> P. 212.

<sup>3</sup> D. 707-10.

<sup>4</sup> A. 261-63.

<sup>5</sup> The bearing of all this on the relative dates of the two versions of the *Prologue* to the *Legend* is obvious. For no one, I think, will be likely to suggest that the first draft of the *Prologue* belongs to the period of the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*. On the other hand, the way in which the A-*Prologue* is now seen to be bound up at point after point with the maturer *Canterbury Tales* accords perfectly with the other indications (quite independently of the *Eltham-Shene* couplet) of a late date for A (see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 782-801). I hope to consider this more fully another time, in connection with a restatement, in the light of additional new evidence, of the case for the priority of B. But it is perhaps not out of place to ask at this point whether the renewal of relations with Deschamps may not have played its part in Chaucer's return to the earlier poem, which Deschamps, as one of the "lovers that can make of sentement," had done so much to inspire? Curiously enough, there is evidence that Deschamps's laudatory *balade*, at all events, was in Chaucer's mind while he was busied with the group of tales before us. For I have already pointed out (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 641, n. 3) that Chaucer seems to have drawn upon its characterization of himself, when he put into the Clerk's mouth the famous eulogy upon Petrarch.

But the omission from the A-version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend* of the couplet in which the name of the Queen is linked with Eltham and Shene points definitely to a date for that version at some time (probably soon rather than long) after June 7, 1394, the day of the Queen's death.<sup>1</sup> That, in turn (since it is reasonable to suppose that the three poems which draw most freely upon the *Miroir* were written at no great intervals from one another) suggests for the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* a date either early in 1394 or at some time in 1393. And that, it will be seen, accords entirely with the probable date at which we have arrived on other grounds for the transmission to England of the *Miroir* itself. And finally, the *Merchant's Tale*—since there is good reason to believe that it rather closely followed

<sup>1</sup> See my discussion of the evidence for this in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 780-82; cf. 783-801. Miss Hammond (*Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, 261, n. 1) remarks that she "does not as yet find proof of the destruction of Sheen"; and she has also kindly called my attention to the fact that references to Sheen are found in the *Chronicles of London* at a date after that of the supposed destruction of the manor house. There can be no doubt about the bearing of the references. They are found in Kingsford, *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), 145 (1439), 175 (1461), 197 (1491), 213 (1497), 222 (1497), 233 (1500). Not all of these apply to the manor house, but some of them certainly do—especially the second under date of 1497 (Vitellius A. XVI, 171<sup>v</sup>): "This yere the kyng kept his Cristmasse at his manoir of Shene; wher, upon Seynt Thomas day at nyght in the Cristmasse weke abowte nyne of the clok, began A grete flyre w<sup>th</sup> the kynges logyng, and so contened unto xij of the nyght and more; by violence where of moche and greate part of the olde byldyng was brent," etc., (p. 222). F. 182<sup>v</sup> (p. 233) contains an account of the rebuilding of the manor, and of the change of its name to Rich mount. But there can, on the other hand, be no reasonable doubt that Richard gave the command for the destruction (or dismantling) of the manor. Miss Hammond herself refers to Froissart's mention of it, and it appears also in the continuation of Higden in Harl. 2261: "Anne qweue of Ynglonde dyede in this yere [1394] at Schene, De vii<sup>me</sup> day of De monethe of Junius, on the day of Pentecoste; the dethe of whom the kynge sorowede insomuche that he causede the maner there to be pullede doune, and wolde not comme in any place by oon yere folowyng where sche hade be, the churche excepte" (Higden's *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, VIII, 497. On Harl. 2261 see I, lxix). Sheen does not appear in the itinerary of Henry IV from 1399 to 1413 (Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, IV, 287-302), and Wylie remarks, with reference to the building by Henry V of the great religious houses on his manor at Shene, that "the palace [at Sheen] had been abandoned since the death of Queen Anne in 1394" (II, 352). It seems, accordingly, quite clear that some such order as that to which reference is made in Froissart, Harl. 2261, and Stow was given; it seems equally clear that it was not (at least fully) carried out. But the essential point is not that the manor was or was not actually destroyed; it is the fact of the King's aversion to it, after the Queen's death. And of that there seems to be no doubt. The motive for the excision of the couplet which mentions Sheen in connection with the Queen's name accordingly remains untouched, whatever may have been the actual fate of the manor itself. [See below, p. 52, n. 2.]

Miss Hammond also suggests (p. 261) that the omission of the couplet may have been "the alteration of a scribe writing at a time when England had no queen—1400-1403—who deleted the couplet as an impossibility." This, of course, may have been the case; it can be neither proved nor disproved. Were the couplet the only point at which A differed from B, the suggestion would carry weight. But since the deletion of the couplet is only one of a great number of changes, the rest of which are admittedly Chaucer's own, the burden of probability is overwhelmingly on the side of Chaucer's agency in this change too.

the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*<sup>1</sup>—may be safely assigned to a date not far from the same period.<sup>2</sup>

The results which we have thus far reached, accordingly, are these. A portion of the *Miroir* near that section of the poem which was certainly written after 1385 (and possibly in the neighborhood of 1389) appears in a version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend* which on independent grounds may be assigned to 1394, or soon thereafter. And in 1393 occurred a combination of circumstances which offered a noteworthy opportunity for the *Miroir* to pass across the Channel. The facts involved, in other words, hang very strikingly together. And the dates thus arrived at for the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* and the *Merchant's Tale* accord with those which have been earlier reached<sup>3</sup> on other and quite independent grounds. We seem, therefore, at one point at least, to have gained a reasonably secure footing in the chronological quicksands of the *Canterbury Tales*.

And from it, it is tempting to venture a step or two farther. For there is evidence of some interest which bears on the *relative* dates of the other *Canterbury Tales* affected by the *Miroir*. Such a discussion, however, is beyond the scope of the present paper. And after all it is second in importance to the clearer light which is thrown, by Chaucer's use of the *Miroir*, upon the close and intimate interrelations of the Marriage Group as a whole.<sup>4</sup> For whatever the order within the group, the common relation of its members to the *Miroir de Mariage* affords conclusive evidence of what has long been

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 48, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This harmonizes in general with Tatlock's independent conclusion "that the *Merchant's Tale* was written shortly after *Melibeus*, very probably not later than 1394" (217). If, however, Tatlock is right (as he seems to be) in his suggestion (212-17) that *Melibeus* comes between the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* and the *Merchant's Tale*, it may well be (in the light of what we now know) that the latter poem will have to be assigned to a period at least a few months later still.

<sup>3</sup> Tatlock, 209-17.

<sup>4</sup> Even the verbal parallels which have been cited between the different tales are not (it should be noticed) mere cases of stock phrases on which Chaucer's mind once started automatically goes off at score. They represent "the use of similar material in a similar way" (see Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, 252-54, 263-64, for a discussion of the use as evidence of Chaucer's tendency to repeat himself). And they can scarcely be accounted for except by supposing that within a relatively limited period Chaucer was keenly and actively interested in the treatment of various aspects of the same general theme—the behavior of men and women "under the yoke of marriage y-bounde"—and that as similar situations arose, phrases already used recurred to him. Note the striking parallels between Proserpine's, Cupid's, and the Miller's remarks about good women and bad; between the relations of January and May, the old carpenter and his young wife, the *Wife of Bath* and her old husbands; etc.

regarded as probable on other grounds<sup>1</sup>—the fact, namely, that the various tales which deal specifically with marriage belong to the same general period.<sup>2</sup> And that period, there is good reason to believe, began in 1393.<sup>3</sup>

Chronology, however, is not entitled to the closing word. There are further considerations—notably the bearing of all this upon Chaucer's narrative art—which demand attention, but which I wish to reserve for fuller treatment in other studies already under way. One point, however, demands brief preliminary mention here. It is clear not only that the contribution of Deschamps to Chaucer was incomparably greater than has hitherto been thought,<sup>4</sup> but also that the influence of *France* persisted in ways that have not yet received due recognition. The formative agency of Italy is not for a moment to be minimized; it was in Boccaccio that Chaucer found himself. But the influences from across the Channel never ceased;

<sup>1</sup> See Tatlock, 198-219. And compare Miss Hammond's recent suggestions regarding the Miller-Reeve group and the Marriage Group, *Chaucer*, 254-57.

<sup>2</sup> With this group must also be included the *Clerk's Tale*, at least in part. I do not wish to discuss here the lateness or earliness of the *Tale* as a whole. The close of it, including the Envoy, is of course later than the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*. What I particularly wish to point out is that in the last stanza of the Envoy Chaucer reverts again to Theophrastus:

If thou be fair, ther folk ben in presence  
Shew thou thy visage and thyn appaillie;  
If thou be foul, be free of thy dispence,  
To gete thee freendes ay do thy travaille (E. 1, 207-10).

Compare D. 253-56, 265-70, and see pp. 31-32 above. Moreover, ll. 932-38 (one of Chaucer's own stanzas) recur to the Wife's remarks on clerks and women (D. 706-7; see p. 48 above), as well as to Cupid's contrast between women's constancy and that of men (A-Prologue, 301-4; see p. 42 above):

Men speke of Job and most for his humblesse,  
As clerkes, whan hem list, can wel endyte,  
Namely of men, but as in soothfastnesse,  
Thogh clerkes preyse wommen but a lyte,  
There can no man in humblesse him acquyte  
As wommen can, ne can ben half so trewe  
As wommen been, but it be falle of-newe (E. 932-38).

The *Manciple's Tale*, with its echo of Theophrastus (H. 148-54) and its large use of Albertano (see Koepfel, in *Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXVI, 44-46) should doubtless also be included in the group.

<sup>3</sup> On its *terminus ad quem* the *Envoy* to Bukton may possibly throw some light. At all events, the theme was still in Chaucer's mind (and probably as a literary interest; see Kittredge, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 14-15, on the conventional character of the poem) when the *Envoy* was written. With the *Envoy* compare *Miroir*, ll. 810-17:

Bien sont gens mariez honnis,  
S'ilz ont tel dangier comme ilz dient,  
Et quant je voy que pas n'en rient,  
Mais dient que, leurs femmes mortes,  
Ne passeront jamais telz portes,  
Il me semble selon leurs diz  
Ce n'est repos ne paradis.  
Mais droiz enfers de tel riote.

<sup>4</sup> See especially Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, I, 1-8; Lowes, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLIX, 613-15, 635-41; XX, 761-71; *Mod. Lang. Review*, V, 38-39. There is evidence of still further indebtedness to Deschamps, which I hope soon to give.

they merely changed their form. Guillaume de Lorris gave place to Jean de Meun; Machaut<sup>1</sup> was succeeded by Deschamps and the *fabliaux*. And the change is one of great significance. For with the problem of chronology (be it said again) is bound up closely the weightier matter of the development of Chaucer's art. And interesting light is thrown upon that by this new source affecting an important group among the *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Professor Kittredge's recent contribution to our further knowledge of the influence of Machaut, *Modern Philology*, VII, 465-74.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for an important addition, received after this article was in the printer's hands, to the evidence already given (p. 49, n. 1, above), bearing on the destruction (or the order for the destruction) of Shene. In the Chronicle of Adam of Usk appears the following entry: "Anno Domini millesimo CCC<sup>mo</sup> nonagesimo quarto, in festo Pentecostes, moriebatur illa benignissima domina, Anna, Anglie regina, in manerio de Schene juxta Braynfort super Thamesiam situato. Quod manerium, licet regale et pulcherrimum, occasione ipsius domine Anne mortis in eodem continentis, rex Ricardus funditus mandavit et fecit extirpari [exturpari. MS.]" (*Chronicon Adae de Usk*, A.D. 1377-1421, ed. Sir Edw. Maunde Thompson, 2d ed., 1904, pp. 8-9).

That Adam of Usk, or Adam Usk, was a pretty good witness appears from the following facts. He speaks of his advanced age in 1402 ("usque ad senectam et senium," p. 74), and Thompson thinks he may have been born about 1352 (p. xi). He died in 1430. He was residing in Oxford, apparently as lecturer in canon law, in 1387. From 1392 to 1399 he seems to have practiced in the court of Canterbury. In 1397 he was present in Parliament. In 1399 he was presented by Archbishop Arundel (see below) with the living of Kemsing, with the chapel of Seal, in Kent. Philippa Mortimer, daughter of Edmund, Earl of March, was his patroness; she was also a patroness of Chaucer. Adam was of the Lancastrian party. He was at Bristol in 1399 with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the train of Henry IV, and accompanied that king in his march to Chester. He was a member of the Commission on the Deposition of Richard II. On September 21, 1399, he saw Richard in the Tower at dinner and listened to his talk, which he records.

Archbishop Arundel, who presented a living to Adam in 1399, and in whose company Usk was at Bristol in 1399 (see above), was in a position to know the circumstances attending the Queen's death. Almost the last entry in John Malverne, the continuator of Higden, is the following: "Septimo die Junii apud manerium de Shene oblit Anna regina Angliae et filia Imperatoris, quam summo mane novo die Junii dominus Thomas de Arundell archiepiscopus Eboracensis et cancellarius Angliae in ecclesia sancti Petri Westmonasteriensis sepelivit" (Higden, *Rolls Series*, IX, 283).

The part of Adam's chronicle which contains the entry about the destruction of Shene is extant in a MS of the *Polychronicon* of Higden (Add. MS 10104), of which chronicle Adam's is a continuation. This MS belonged to Adam himself, and was bequeathed by him to his relative Edward of Usk. The text of Adam's chronicle is not in his own hand, however.

Adam (p. 124) also records Henry V's religious foundations near Shene in 1414 (see above, p. 49, n. 1): "Isto secundo regni sui anno, prope Schene super ripam Tamesii tres religiosas, unam Cartusie, secundam sancte Brigide, et tertiam sancti Celestini, incepit fundare domos." According to Thompson (p. 305, n. 4) these were "the house of Jesus of Bethlehem at West Shene (Richmond) for Carthusians; and the house of Mount Sion, or Sion House, at Twickenham, of the order of Saint Bridget," and perhaps "the hermitage which was within the monastery of Shene (*Monast. Anglic.*, vj, 29). Walsingham mentions the three foundations (ij. 300)."

# THE FRANCO-ITALIAN CHEVALERIE OGIER

[Concluded]

Coment li mesaçer torna arrer.

- 1070 QUando li mesaço fo da .K. sevré,  
Via s'en vait por li çamin feré.  
D'un çorno e d'altro el fo tanto pené  
Q'ele pase oltra la mer salé;  
Ven à li rois o' el [l']oit trové.
- 1075 Braer le vi si l'oit aderasné:  
'Mesaçer sire, vu sià ben trové!  
E li rois .K. ancora renoié?'  
'Oïl, fait il, el n'a mal voluté.  
El non vos dota una poma poré;
- 1080 Si pasà mer, el est aparilé:  
Bataila vos donerà à vestra voluté.
- f. 70d] Molto avila Macometo nos Dé,  
E si le ten in molto gran vilté.'  
Quando Braer l'intende, si ne fo corocé;
- 1085 Adoncha apela ses dru e ses privé  
E cili rois de la soa poesté.  
Brevi e çarte manda por soa contré,  
Por paganie et avanti e aré.  
Avanti trois mois tant n'oit asenblé
- 1090 Qe conter no s'en poroit li cento e li milé;  
Plus de quatre cento mile seroit anonbré,  
A bone arme e à destrer seçorné;  
E si le estoit .XXX. rois coroné.  
En nave entrent, en buçe et en galé:
- 1095 Tant naçarent por me' la mer salé  
Qe in Provençe furent arivé.  
Quando la novela fo à .K. porté,  
Molto ne fo dolant, saçés por verité;  
Qe voluntera seroit en pax repolsé.
- 1100 N. apella, li saço e li doté,  
E li conte .R. e Teris e Rayné,

Rubric, *mesaçer*.

1075. *adelasné*: *l* changed to *r*.

1077. This verse occurs also above, after v. 1074, with *arenoié* for *renoié*.

1080. *su pasa*.

- Bernardo de Clermont e Morando de Rivé.  
 'Segnur, fait il, qe conseil me doné?'  
 Dist .N.: 'Qe sià parilé;  
 1105 E si mandà por la cresteneté  
 Por li baron, principi e casé,  
 Qe à çeste ponto i' non soia esfraé;  
 E à Girardo au Frate, se vos li envoié,  
 S'el vos secor vu avì ben ovré.'  
 1110 Adoncha li rois non fo pais entardé:  
 El oit mandé por la cresteneté;  
 En Ongarie oit un breve envoié,  
 E par tot part e davant e daré.  
 E li rois Braer tant est avant alé  
 1115 Q'el fo à Paris la cité aprosmé.

Coment fu grande l'oste.

- GRant fu l'oste de quello mescreant.  
 En pàganie darer e davant  
 Nen trovaroit un plu malvax Presant.  
 Braer oit nome tant sole mant  
 1120 Por q'elo braise tan forte e fere mant.  
 A le brair si spaventa la çant  
 Q'elo li fa vinti e recreant:  
 Plu oit il força qe quatre altri combatant.  
 Davant Paris son pavilon dèstant;  
 1125 Treçcent qui' broli e li çardin ensemant:  
 Pain s'aloçe à miler e à çant.  
 K. le vi, par poi d'ire non fant;  
 E vi guaster ses poi e ses pendant.  
 O' vi dux .N. si l'apela en oiant:  
 1130 'N., fait il, queste ovra è molto grant.  
 [f. 71a] Toti ne son gonbré le valé e li pendant:  
 Par un petit nen moro de matalant.'  
 Atant ecote vos li bon conte Rolant;  
 O' vi li rois si le dist en oiant:  
 1135 'Enperer sire, li conçe vos demant;  
 Lasés moi aler for de Paris al canp.  
 De vestra jent à moi donez tant  
 Qe li posa dare pena e tormant.'  
 Dist li rois: 'Ora en prendés tant

1117-18. Something is wrong here. Perhaps a verse such as v. 928 has been lost between these two.

1129. *E vi.*



- 1140 Qe çivalçés à lor ardie mant.  
 Dist Rolant: 'Vu parlez à esiant.'  
 Adoncha .R. cun saçes e valant  
 XX. mil prist de le plus conosant:  
 Illec fo Oliver e Bernardo de Brusbant  
 1145 E le doçe *compagnon* qe non furent enfant.  
 I' fa soner grailes e de bosine çant:  
 Frances s'adobe, Baiver e Alemant.  
 Là o' s'arme .R. à li cor franc,  
 Illec fu .N., li saço e li valant,  
 1150 Et avec lui di çivaler çant.  
 Quando fo armé e monté en auferant,  
 K. li comande à cil onipotant  
 Qi naque de la Vergine là çoso en Beniant.  
 La porta fo averte e li ponte meso à li pendant:  
 1155 Fora s'en ese qui' çivaler valant;  
 Dever pain s'en va ardiemant.  
 Ça olderi bataile mervilose e grant.

Coment .Ro. çivalçe.

- ROlando çivalçe c'oit cor de lion,  
 A .XX. mil de çivaler baron.  
 1160 Après lui fo Oliver, ses *compagnon*,  
 Ive et Avolio, Belençer et Oton,  
 Astolfo de Lengne e li dux Salamon.  
 Por tel vertu ferî en qui' Selavon  
 Qe i' abate tende e pavilon,  
 1165 E de' pain qe creent en Macon  
 Plus de .X. mil en çitò al sablon.  
 Mais Sarasin, quando s'en aperçeon,  
 Corent ad armes, montent en aragon.  
 Çinquanta mile esmere[r] li poit l'on.  
 1170 Qi doncha veist .R., li nevo .K.,  
 Cun Durendarda ferir qui' Selavon!  
 Maletò quello q'el çete al sablon,  
 Qi ma' querise merçé ni perdon!  
 Por me' li canpo vait le filz Milon  
 1175 Et avec lui Oliver, ses *compagnon*:  
 A li colpi q'i' done no senblent garçon.  
 En me' la voie encontrò Baldon

1157. The first letter of this verse I cannot read. There can be no doubt, however, but that the scribe intended to write *ça*.

1164. *il abate*: l crossed out. The stroke is very light and perhaps accidental.

- [f. 71b]      Qe estoit un rois del tré Carfaraon.  
                  R. le vi, lasa so compaignon,  
 1180      A lui s'en vait como fust un lion;  
                  No l'apelò ne le dist si ne non.  
                  Elo ten Durendarda c'oit à or li pon;  
                  Tel colpo li dona desor l'elmo reon  
                  Ver Durendarda el no val un boton:  
 1185      Trença la cofia e tot li menton;  
                  Elo l' porfende trosqua in le arçon:  
                  Ganbe levée l'abatì al sablon,  
                  E le çival s'en fuit, qe nen pisi o non.  
                  Pain le vi, çascun torse li menton.  
 1190      Dist l'un à l'altro: 'El è morto, Baldon;  
                  Meltre pain non ert en la Carfaraon.  
                  Quest' è gran dolo se nu no l'avençon.'  
                  De ver .R. se metent à speron;  
                  Gran fo li stor quando i' s'asenblon:  
 1195      Doncha verisés li doçe compaignon  
                  Avec .R. ferir de tel randon  
                  Arme non dura à li colpi q'i' don;  
                  Doncha verisés Turchi e Selavon  
                  Cair à tera roversi al sablon.  
 1200      Qui' Sarasin furent in gran fricon,  
                  Quando vi le colpo c'avoit Baldon,  
                  Qe cun Durendarda li dé li nevo .K.;  
                  Ço fo .R., le filz del duc Milon:  
                  Meltre çivaler atrover non poron.

Coment fu grant quella bataille.

- 1205      GRande fo la bataile et aduré:  
                  Qui' Sarasin furent desbaraté,  
                  Quando Baldon virent si mal bailé;  
                  Trosqua à l'arçon le verent decopé  
                  E de sa jent plu de l'un à mité.  
 1210      En fua torne ver l'oste l'amiré;  
                  Grande fo li u, le gri e la ué.  
                  Quant cil Braer oldi la nose uçer,  
                  De maintenant el prist son corer,  
                  Monta à çival cun tot ses çivaler;  
 1215      E non remist qe arme poüst bailer.  
                  Adoncha oisés tant graile soner,

1188. *non pisi.*

1215. *pousti: i crossed out.*

- Tronbe e tanbor brair e grasloier:  
 Ideo tonast, nul hon poria oier.  
 Dever .R. se metent ad erer.
- 1220 Si grande fo li stor tot quel jor enter  
 Ne vos poria nul hon ne dir ni conter.  
 Nen fust la soir qe parti li jor cler  
 La çente de .R. en fose foci arer;  
 Ma la soira li fé partir e sevrer.
- 1225 En Paris torne .R. et Oliver,  
 Et avec lui tuti so' çivaler.  
 Bene en remis al campo plu d'un miler  
 Qe mais non vide ne fio ni muler.  
 Da l'altra parte torna li rois Braer,
- 1230 E de li so li lasò plus de .X. miler,  
 Et un tel rois dont fo grant li danger:  
 Se li rois oit dolo non è da merveler;  
 S'el nol vença no se cuita priser.  
 Tota la noit se metent à polser,
- 1235 Tros la deman qe l'auba si fo cler.  
 Braer se leve qe fo in gran penser  
 Como il posa li rois Baldon vençer.  
 A la deman, sença plus entarder,  
 Elo se fait son guarnimento porter:
- 1240 Veste l'aubers e calçò le ganber,  
 Alaça l'elmo, çinse li brando d'açer;  
 Fa se mener so corant destrer,  
 E cil li monte qe non baill strever;  
 Un scu e una lance el se fa aporter.
- 1245 O' vi sa jent, si le pris apeler:  
 'Segnur, fait il, e' vos voio enproier,  
 E si vos voio dire e comander:  
 Se me verés ad un homo çostrer,  
 Q'el no li sia nul altro parçoner,
- 1250 Non me diçà secorer ni aider;  
 Ma se verés la çent sormonter,  
 Adoncha me secorés à cento et à miler.'  
 E cil li dient: 'Ben est da otrier,  
 Ne vos estoit de ço de rendoter.'
- 1255 Elo s'en voit e lasa li parler;  
 De ver Paris se mis à çaminer.  
 Ça olderés qe fé ste malfer.

1217. oit e grasloier.

1218. Adeo.

1239. ti between Elo and se: crossed out.

Coment s'en vait le pain.

VA s'en Braer q̄i non a nul dotançe;

De qui' de Paris *non* oit dubitançe:

1260 En sa proeça a metu s̄i sa sperançe

Q'el non dota nul çivaler de France:

Entra sa loi oit molto gran fiançe.

En paganie tot les autres avançe

De proeza et à scu et à lançe.

1265 Quant fo preso Paris, à brair el comançe

S̄i fort ment qe qui' qe *non* oit mal entançe

Por quela vos s̄i n' oit al cor dotançe.

Coment vent à Paris.

QUando Braer fo à Paris aprosmé,

S̄i fera ment oit e brai e crié

1270 Qe l'intent qui' dentro da la cité.

Ad alta vos el oit uçé;

'K. de France, qe tanto e' alosé,

[f. 71d] Car or te leve e no eser entardé;

Prende tot tes arme e tes coré,

1275 E vene avec moi, q'el non ert vilté,

Qe ensement eo sui rois coroné,

De questa jent eo son amiré:

Par moi e toi ste pla serà finé.

E se questo *non* vo faré por toa vilté,

1280 Ma[n]da me le mior e le plu alosé,

Li qual soia en la toa contré,

Li qual soia dux, prinçe o casé,

O altro çivaler qe soia adobé,

O çivaler d'alto parenté.'

1285 Li rois l'intent qe estoit apoié

A li balcon cun .N. de Baivé.

'N., dist .K., qe conseil me doné

De quel pain qe ne ten à vilté,

E de çostrer bataia oit demandé

1290 Dever de moi o d'un altro çivalé

Qe soia dux, principio o casé,

O çivaler d'alto parenté?'

1259. The *o* of *non* is omitted but the sign of the nasal was not forgotten.

1267. *ñ*.

1278. *moi e tot*.

1284. *A çivaler*.

- Dist .N. : 'Savés qe vos faré ?  
 En vestra cort li son de bon asé:  
 1295 Se le vole aler nesun por volunté,  
 Adoncha li soit li guanto delivré.'  
 Dist li rois: 'Quest' è ça otrié.'  
 Ben le fust le cont .R. alé,  
 Quant il oit le sorte veü e çité,  
 1300 Qe ver quel païn nul hon averoit duré,  
 Qe soia sovra tera abité;  
 Ma por un q'è soto tera doit eser afolé.  
 Saçés, segnur, e çes fo verité,  
 Qe .R. fo molto saçes e doté;  
 1305 En totes artes elo fo amaistré:  
 Por li Danois q'è soto tera enpresoné  
 Doit eser quel païn morto et afolé.  
 Mais .R. no l'oit ancora devisé,  
 Por li bando qe estoit crié:  
 1310 Qi mençona li Danois doit eser apicé;  
 Sî qe .R. vole, avanti q'elo sia anomé,  
 Qe de' çivaler soia cun le païn proié.  
 Ancor non è Braer ni parti ni sevré,  
 E li rois oit son çivaler demandé  
 1315 Se nul li ert de lor tanto alosé  
 Qe prender volust ses coré,  
 Ver le païn aler à li pré.  
 Çascun taçoit, nul a moto parlé,  
 Qe à Rolant çascun avoit guardé,  
 1320 Qe por .R. nul hon oit parlé.

Coment Oliver alloit conbatere à le païn.

- [f. 72a] DE ver .R. çascun prist aguarder,  
 Qe quela bataille non volese in primer;  
 Quando elo le dist: 'Qi se vol aproier,  
 Segura ment sî prenda son corer:  
 1325 Q'eo li do li colpo en primer,  
 Qe avec lui non çirò à çotrer.'  
 Quant ço entent li cortois Oliver,  
 De maintenant, senca plu demorer,  
 Davanti li rois se vait apresenter:  
 1330 Çentil rois sire, un don e' vos requer:  
 Qe le guanto vu me deçà doner,

Rubric, *alioit*. The *e* of *le* is inserted above the *ll*ne.

1331. *un me*.

- De la bataille de verso li Escier;  
 E' la demando, ma no voria trapaser  
 De mon compagno, .R. l'avoer.'
- 1335 Dist li rois: 'Et eo li voio otrier;  
 Alez à prendre ves arme e ves corer,  
 Qe quel pain non fina de ucer.'  
 Qi doncha veist li cortois Oliver  
 Ses arme querir e demander!
- 1340 Qui' le aporta qi le ont à garder,  
 Et Oliver se mis l'aubergo dopler,  
 Le speron calce si se mis le ganber,  
 Alaça l'eume, çinse li brando d'açer;  
 Fa s'amener ses corant destrer.
- 1345 E cil li monte qe non bailli strever;  
 Un scu e una lance el se fait apporter.  
 Quant a ço fato, el vene à l'inperer:  
 Conçé demande, si se prist aler.  
 R. le vi. si le parse noier,
- 1350 Q'elo soit ben qe por li so aler  
 El non poit nul honor porcaçer.  
 Et Oliver s'en vait, qi ne doia noier;  
 Ese de Paris, fi li pont avaler:  
 O' vi le pain, prise à çaminer,
- 1355 E si prist querir e demander  
 Se avec lui vol dire de çostrer.  
 Dist Braer: 'Estes vos çivaler?'  
 'Oil, fait il, nen sai altro mester.'  
 'Estes çentil homo o stes soldaer,
- 1360 E como vos faites in la cort apeler?'  
 'Por la ma foi, ço le dist Oliver,  
 Nen vos averò de nient boser:  
 Mon pere est dux, si oit nome Rainer  
 E fo filz de Girardo au Frate li guerer;
- 1365 Un meltre dux no se poroit trover.  
 Et in la cort de .K. l'inperer,  
 L'omo m'apelle par nome Oliver,  
 Si sui compagno .R. li avoer  
 Qe tanto se fait por li mondo anomer,
- [f. 72b] 1370 Par tot li mondo e davant e darer.'  
 Dist le pain: 'Vu me si' molto çer.  
 En paganie de vu ò oldu parler.'

1340. *aguarder*.1346. *scui*: *i* crossed out.

Coment le païn parole [à] .O.

- VER Oliver le païn mescreent,  
 Elo parole, si le dist erament:
- 1375 'Di mo', Oliver, ne mel çeler nient:  
 De .K. el maine, por qe no alsient  
 Q'elo lasase ester li bateçament,  
 E quela loi o' vu estes creent,  
 E croire en Macon con fa la moia çent?
- 1380 Asa' averoit il onor e teniment;  
 Segnor le faroie del reame d'orient.'  
 Dist Oliver: 'Vu parlé de nient.  
 Le mon segnor è tanto rico e posent  
 Enperer est de tot li bateçament.
- 1385 En quel Deo croit qe naque en Benient  
 De la Verçene Marie par soi enonbrament,  
 E in le mondo durò pena e torment  
 XXX. trois ani, questo soi(t) certament,  
 Par tot li mondo, darer e davent,
- 1390 E se quel vo' aorer, e' son qui al present:  
 Sença bataile faremo acordament;  
 Colsa como no, por lo men esient  
 Questa colsa non po aler altre ment.'  
 E dist Braer: 'Tu ne sera' recreent,
- 1395 Qe ben sai par voir e çerta ment  
 Qe toi ni altri non poso doter nient,  
 Ne omo qe sia in ste segol vivent,  
 Qe de sor tera açà abitament.'  
 Dist Oliver: 'Ça serà parisent
- 1400 Li qual de nos serà li plus valent.  
 E' vos desfi alo' à li present.'  
 Dist le païn: 'Et eo vos ensement.'  
 Del campo se donent li trato d'un arpent,  
 L'un contra l'autro ponçe l'auferent
- 1405 Quant i' poit aler ad esient;  
 Brandist le lance à li feri trençent,  
 Gran colpi se done de sor le scu davent:  
 Le scu se speze mais li auberg li defent,  
 Qe de la çarne non toçent nient;
- 1410 Mais le colpi fo si grandi e pesent  
 Qe le çival anbes s'ençenolent.  
 Al relever le aste se speçent,  
 Ne l'un por l'autre no se ploia nient:  
 Oltra l'en porta qui' bon destrer corent.



1415 Voi le Braer, par poi d'ire non fent;  
Morto le cuitoit avoir enprima ment.

Coment le païn feri Olivers.

- [f. 72e] QUando Braer oit Oliver veü,  
A gran mervile elo fo irascu  
Q'elo no l'oit morto o abatu:  
1420 La spea trait como homo de gran vertu,  
Dever Oliver ponce li destrer crenu,  
Gran colpo li done desor l'elmo agu;  
Nen fust qe Deo le fo en aïu,  
Fendu l'avero[it] trosqua li dent menu;  
1425 Ma la spea torne, le scu a conseü.  
Qe le quarter n'oit à tera abatu.  
Dist Oliver: 'Santa Maria, aïu,  
Qe je non soia vinto ni confondu!'  
Lor trait Altaclera, so bon brant amolu,  
1430 Ver le païn el ven tot irascu;  
Un si gran colpo li oit conseü  
Desor li eume qe fo à or batu,  
De quel non trençe la monta d'un festu;  
La spea torne, li scu oit conseü:  
1435 Tot li trençe quant n'oit prenu,  
E de l'aubergo cento maie ronpu;  
Par un petit ne l'oit en carne conseü  
E son çival morto e abatu.  
Dist le païn: 'Mal vos est avenu,  
1440 Quando contra moi bailisés ves escu:  
Vu ne serés morto e deceü,  
E por la gorça vu serez apendu,  
Ne no v'en poroit aider li vestro Deo Jesu.'  
Adoncha oit un si gran cri metu  
1445 Qe una legua elo fo ben oldu,  
E en quel cri elo clamò Chaü  
E Macometo e son deo Belçebu.  
Quant Oliver li oit entendu,  
Pur del crier oit païra eü;  
1450 Deo reclama e la soa vertu,  
E la Verçene Maria qe li sia en aïu:  
E quel païn fo de gran vertu,  
E grant e fer por costes e por bu;

Rubric, The *s* of *Olivers* is not completed.

1453. *buti*: *ti* crossed out.

- Por sì gran força li è sovra coru,  
 1455 E sì gran colpo li oit aconseü  
 Deo le guardi en carne no l'oit prendu;  
 Mais le çival prende davant li bu  
 Qe tot la schina l'oit por mité fendu;  
 Le çival cal morto en me' le pré erbu,  
 1460 E Oliver fo à tera caü.

Coment Oliver fo pris.

- QUant Oliver se vi al canpo versé.  
 Son çival vi morto, gola baé,  
 A gran mervile el ne fo spaventé;  
 Deo reclama, la voir maisté:  
 [f.72a]1465 'Santa Marie, or me secoré!  
 Costu' no è hon, ançe è 'lo li voir malfé,  
 Le vor diable q'è chà oltra pasé.  
 Ben m'en deveroie eser castigé,  
 Quando .R. vidi tot aquité,  
 1470 Qe de la bataille n'oit li quanto pié:  
 Sença cason non oit ensi ovré.'  
 Doncha tent Alteclara, sovra li è alé.  
 Quant le pain le vi, si fo retrato aré,  
 Qe de son çival el se fo redoté.  
 1475 A tera desis, sì fo cun lui à pé;  
 Et Oliver sor lui fo alé,  
 Mais le pain si fo plus desmesuré:  
 Sì como Oliver oit ses colpo entesé,  
 E li rois Braer soto li fo fiçé,  
 1480 Atraverso le pié, oltra sa volunté,  
 Sì fortemment l'a preso e seré  
 Qe non li pote ferir cun li tre[n]çar de la spé:  
 O voia o no, de man li oit saçé;  
 Por preso l'oit, sl l'oit via mené,  
 1485 A soa jent l'oit en guarda doné;  
 E quant a ço fato, ancor torna à li pré.  
 L'arçiveschovo le vi, tosto fo à çival monté;  
 Ese de Paris, li fren abandoné;  
 O' vi le pain, quela part est alé.  
 1490 Li rois le vi, si s'en oit gabé,  
 Sì le apelle, sì le oit aderasné:  
 Qe hon il est e de qual parenté?  
 E cil le dist: 'E' son homo sagré,  
 E arçiveschovo apelé e clamé.'

- 1495 Dist le pain: 'Vu me si' caro asé:  
 E' vos desfi, da mi or vos guardé.  
 I' se delonçent un arpant smesuré;  
 Ma l'arçiveschovo li oit le primo colpo doné,  
 Desor l'escu à Macon pituré:  
 1500 Ne l'empira un diner moené,  
 Ni an por lui no fo nient ploïé;  
 E cil fer lui, si le çitò al pré.  
 Quant oit si fato, li fren abandoné  
 Sovra li cor, por força l'oit pié,  
 1505 Via le mena oltra sa volunté;  
 Avec Oliver l'oit enpresoné.  
 Qe vos doit eser li pla plus alonçé?  
 Ad uno ad uno tuti furent proé  
 Li doce pere qe tanto sont anomé,  
 1510 Defora .R., li maine avoé:  
 Tuti furent ensenbre enpresoné.  
 Li rois le vi, si ne fo abosmé,  
 Par un petit non ait li seno cançé.

Coment .Ro. parle à Naines.

- [f. 73a] LI cont .R., li nobel e li ber,  
 1515 O' vi .N. sil mena ad un çeler:  
 ' .N., fait il, grant è li danger,  
 Quando son prisî tanti bon çivaler,  
 E asa' li poroit aler e çostrer,  
 Qe nesun le poüst vinçere ni amater,  
 1520 S'el non serà li bon Danois Uger;  
 Ma el no s'olsa dire ni anomer,  
 Por li bando de .K. l'inperer.'  
 Dist .N.; 'A vos nen quel ovrer:  
 Quando nu seron cun .K. à conseler,  
 1525 E vu arés li Danois anomer,  
 Nu olderen qe .K. averà parler,  
 E ensement responderen arer.'  
 Dist .R.: 'Ben le voio otrer.'  
 E le dux .N. cun .K. l'inperer  
 1530 Oit fato un conseil clamer et apeler,  
 Qe plus de cento baron en fo sor li soler.

1523. This verse seems to have resulted from the condensation of two. The original text probably read somewhat as follows:

*Dist .N.: 'A vos nen quer l' çeler,  
 Coment derren nu del pain ovrer:*

Cf. v. 1532 and note.

- E coment volent del pain ovrer  
 E .R. prist li Danois anomer:  
 K. l'oi, si le responde arer:  
 1535 'A qi ò oldu li Danois mentoer?'  
 Çascun eseria: 'Vu si' deso, meser!'  
 Le rois l'oldi, ne olsa plu parler;  
 E le dux .N. quant volse conseler,  
 Ancora .R. prist li Danois anomer;  
 1540 Et ancora .K. si prist à uçer:  
 'A qi ò oldu li Danois mentoer?'  
 Çascun li eseria: 'Vu si' deso, meser!'  
 Quant vi li rois non po altro encontrer,  
 El dise qe çascun li posa nomer.  
 1545 Adoncha .R. si parlò enprimer:  
 'Segnur, fait [il], asa' poon deviser:  
 E' vos so par voir dire e conter  
 Qe por li Danois dé morir li Escler,  
 Ne d'altro homo del mondo el no se po doter.'
- Coment .Ro. parole à la jent.
- 1550 'SEgnur, dist .R., entendés sta rason:  
 Savés por quoi vene de çà li Sclavon?  
 Li rois Braer qe ne oit la reençon,  
 De paganie e 'ntorno et inviron,  
 Vide por sorte e por saçes hon  
 1555 Qe hon de sovra tere dotere ne se poron;  
 Ma soto tera ert qi ancir le devon:  
 Colu' q'è soto tera mais vivo non son.  
 Li Danois è soto tera metu en preson  
 E por lui doit eser morto se de ilec li traon;  
 1560 E recovrarà toti li nostri baron  
 [f. 73b] Qe quel oit pris sença reençon.'  
 Çascun de qui' qe de ilec se trovon,  
 Toti crient: 'Ora le delivron!'  
 Meesmo .K. la parola li don  
 1565 Qe li Danois escha for de preson.  
 Gran çoia n'oit çivaler e peon;  
 Tuti corent por trar [l'] for de preson.  
 Ma i' no soit coment la devison:  
 Meio vol li Danois morir à chulvason,  
 1570 Qe por lui aça nula reençon.
1532. There is a lacuna before this verse or it is the corruption of the verse lost after v. 1523 and should be suppressed.  
 1552. *no oit*.  
 1569. *io* after *meio*: crossed out.

Coment .N. parole.

QUant .N. soit et entent

De le Danois li son delivrament,

En soa vite el non fo si çoient:

El e .R. e des altri ben çent

1575 A la preson corent alegra ment,

La novela li portent qe mo' à li present

El doit ensir de pena e de torment.

Dist li Danois: 'Vu parlé de nient:

Non voio ensir de qui uncha al me vivent

1580 Se de colu' non prendo vençament,

Qi m'a tenu qui loga longa ment.

Quando el m'envoï à Marmora prime ment,

En ses braçe li lasé mun fil bel e çent:

Çarloto l'oncis ad un coltel trençent,

1585 Ni an por ço non fé 'lo nul çuçement;

Et eo li perdoné l'aïra el maltalent,

Ne mais de lui non fose fato vençament,

Ma el me dise, Çarloto, tel folia d'avent

Morto n'averio si fose esté ben çent:

1590 Qe de moi meesme feroit ensement

Como fé de mon filz q'el oncis à torment.'

Dist dux .N.: 'Li rois de ço se pent:

De ço c'oït fato el n'è gramo e dolent,

Si vos perdona l'aïra el maltalent.'

1595 Dist li Danois: 'Uncha à mon vivent

Non averà da moi pax ni bon convent,

Se trois colpe no li do de ma spea trençent.'

R. l'olde, si s'en rise bele ment;

A li rois vent tosto et isnelement,

1600 La novela li conte, qe li Danois li content;

Li rois l'ol, mais non fo si dolent.

Coment parole l'inperer.

'SEgnur, dist l'inperer, nen lairò nen vos die:

S'el me dona trois colpe de la spea forbie,

El me fenderà trosqua ment à l'orie,

1605 Ne por nul arme non averò guarentie.'

Dist .R.: 'Ne vos dotés ne mie,

Ne vos dalmaçarà la monta d'una alie,

[l. 73c]; Qe por nos amor el farà cortisie.'

1595. a between *Dist* and *li*: crossed out.

- Dist l'inperer: 'Et eo così l'otrie.  
 1610 Meio voio morir qe eser perie  
 Tanti bon çivaler cun son en presonie.'  
 Adoncha li Danois fo de la carçer ravie;  
 E l'inperer fo d'armes ben guarnie;  
 En çevo se mis dos elmi de Pavie;  
 1615 Li Danois le vi, nen po muer nen rie;  
 E li cont .R. lora le prie  
 Qe por li son amor faça l'ovra conplie,  
 Qe çascun de lui ben parli e ben die;  
 E li Danois, cun saço e menbrie,  
 1620 Alça li brando cun le viso enbronçie;  
 Una vista fi d'una grande remie,  
 Alça li colpo e bela ment le plie:  
 Ne fose por cil una moscha perie;  
 Tros colpi ferl li rois, q'elo non cesò mie:  
 1625 Ne l'inspira qe valist una alie.  
 Gran çoia n'oit tuta la baronie.  
 Quant a çò fato, fo la guera fenie.  
 Dist l'inperer: 'De questo suie guarie.  
 Sire Danois, ne lairò ne vos die:  
 1630 De çò q'è fato voio qe sia oblie,  
 Plu no se remenbri à li tempo de nos vie.'  
 E li Danois responde: 'Et eo così l'otrie.'  
 Saçés, segnors, qe là fo gran stoltie  
 Qe fé li Danois, veçando la baronie:  
 1635 Tros colpi ferl li rois con la spea forbie.

Coment li Danois ferl .K. sor li heume.

- LI cont .R., li nobel e li ber,  
 [l. 73d] Dist al Danois: 'L'è preso, Oliver,  
 Ive et Avolio, Oton e Belençer,  
 L'arçivesche con tot li doçe per;  
 1640 Unde por me amor e' vos voio proier  
 Qe vu prendà le arme e li corer:  
 Alez al canpo combatre cun Braer,  
 Car eo so por voir, sens nesun boser,  
 Qe vu si' quel qe le di' atuer.  
 1645 E por vos doit eser delivrà li presoner.'  
 Dist li Danois: 'Et eo li voio otrier,  
 Or me le faites maintenant apporter.'  
 Responde .R.: 'De grez e volunter.'  
 Adoncha li cont sì le demanda e quer

- 1650 A quel qe le ave quando fo presoner.  
 Quant le Danois vi ses arme aporter,  
 Se il oit çoia non è da demander.  
 Elo ne prist Damenedeo orer  
 Qe ancora porà sa prodeza mostrer.
- 1655 El non volse longa ment entarder,  
 Veste l'auberg e calça le ganber,  
 Alaça l'elme, çinse le brando d'açer,  
 Fa s'amenar so corant destrer;  
 Quando li monte elo pris le strever,
- 1660 Qe por la preson fato estoit lainer:  
 Una lança e un scu el se fa aporter.  
 Quant a ço fato si dist à l'avoer:  
 'R., fait il, or vos pos e' çurer  
 Qe no conosco hoz de ça ni de là da mer,
- 1665 E sia qual vole, Sarasin et Escler,  
 Por cui mon scu eo mé voçese arer.  
 [f.174a] Ora m'en faites la porta despaser,  
 Qe de fora eo posa çivalçer.'  
 Dist .R. 'Ben est da otrier.'
- 1670 La porta fé avrir e li pont avaler,  
 E li Danois quant s'en volse sevrer,  
 Tota la baronia si le voit darer;  
 Meesmo li rois e .N. de Baiver,  
 E li cont .R. li voit aconvoier.
- 1675 A Deo li rende qe se lasò pener,  
 E cil s'en vait qe in Deo oit gran sper.  
 Por mur e por palés e por alti docler  
 Montent peon e çivaler  
 Por veoir la bataile coment avrà finer.
- 1680 E li Danois qe tant è pro e ber  
 Tanto sperone so corant destrer  
 Qe à l'oste d'i pain se vait aprosmer,  
 Qe li rois Braer tornà era arer;  
 E li Danois si comença à uçer:
- 1685 'O' est alé questo q'è tanto fer,  
 Li qual oit pris tot li doçe per?  
 Vegna à moi; e' voio sego çostrer.'  
 Quant le pain l'oldent, s'en prist à merveler;  
 Un meso li vait nonçer à Braer.
- 1690 Quando Braer oldi la novela del çivaler  
 Qe venu ert cun lui in canpo çostrer,  
 Demantenant el prist son corer,



- Ese de l'oste e vait al praer;  
 Tant q'el fo à li Danois no se volse arester;  
 1695 Quant li aprosme, elo l' prist à guarder:  
 De sa fature se poit amerveler  
 Elo ll'apelle, sel prist aderasner:  
 'Çivaler, qe demandi e quer?  
 E' tu çentil hon o e' tu soldaer  
 1700 Qe servi soldo por oro e por diner?'  
 Dist li Danois: 'E' no tel quer noier:  
 E' son ben çivaler fato da enperer,  
 Mais por un forfaito e' son sté presoner  
 En una tel preson qe era dura e fer,  
 1705 Qe estoit soto tera: ilec me fi polser.  
 Asa' avoie da boir e da mançer  
 La marçé Deo, .R., et Oliver.'  
 Quando le paîn l'oldi, si se pris porpenser  
 Qe soto tera doit eser cil qe le doit finer.  
 1710 Adoncha le prist por rason demander:  
 'Çivaler sire, cun te fa' tu anomer?'  
 'Li Danois, sire, qe l'omo apella Oçer.'  
 Le paîn l'olde, n'a en lu' qe irer:  
 El sa ben par voir, sença boser,  
 1715 Qe costu' è quel par cui doit finer.  
 (f. 74b) Molto voluntera elo retornase arer,  
 Mais le cor no le poit sofrir ne endurer,  
 Por la vergogne e por le çivaler,  
 Qe in sa vite n'averait reproçer.

Coment se parole ensenbre.

- 1720 QUan le paîn oit li Danois veü,  
 Elo l' vi grant, groso e quaru;  
 A gran mervile estoit ben menbru:  
 Molto le redote si l'oit à rason metu:  
 'Çivaler sire, ben vos ai coneü;  
 1725 Se vo' venir avec moi *et* eser mon dru,  
 Nen averò ren la monta d'un festu  
 Qe vosco non parte à menu à menu.'  
 Dist le Danois: 'E' v'ò ben entendu.  
 Non son pais qui loga venu  
 1730 Por conquister reame ni benu,  
 Mais li rois .K. si m'a qui trametu  
 Por conquister qui' qe avez rendu.'  
 Dist le paîn: 'Tot vos serà rendu,

Ne un solo non serà retenu.

1735 Tornez arer ne no costrarèn plu.'

Li Danois l'olde, s' se fo aperceü

Qe quel pain oit paüra eü.

Elo le dist: 'Eo son qui venu,

Non cun parole, ançi cun lança e seu,

1740 Por combatre avec vu,

Se vu ne ve clamés vinto e recreü.'

Coment se vont à feri[r].

QUant le pain voit et intant

Qe li Danois s' no l'ama niant:

Sença bataile no vol sego convant,

1745 Et il soit ben par voir e certa mant

Qe il est cil qe li dé far dolant,

Voluntera se partise de li canp,

Quant li Danois de nient li consant,

Ançi le dist tot enprimere mant:

1750 'E' vos desfi da çest çorno en avant.'

Quant le pain vi nen pote fare altremant

Elo lle dist: 'Et eo vos ensemant.'

Del campo se done li trato d'un arpant;

L'un contra l'altro ponce li aliferant,

1755 Brandist le lançe à li feri trençant,

Gran colpi se done anbes comunel mant;

Li seu se speze mais li auberg li defant,

Ne l'un por l'autre no se plega niant;

Frosent le aste, li torson vola avant;

1760 Li destrer n'i' porte qe la tera en fant.

Çascun se volse s' n'a trato li brant;

L'un ver l'a[l]tro vait irea mant,

[f. 74c] Mais le pain le promer salto porprant;

Fer li Danois por una força grant

1765 Desor li eume o' le pere resplant;

Non poit trençer del noir ni del blanc,

Qe cil eume fo d'un grant amirant;

Costu' fo Karoer d'oltra Jerusalant,

Qe li oncis al pré verdoiant,

1770 De for de Rome, la bona cité valant.

La spea torne qe la tarça porprant:

Tota la fende e darer(er) e davant

1754. *al before aliferant*: crossed out.

1759. *corson*.

- E de l'auberg le ghiron tot quant;  
Trosqua in tera è desendu li brant.
- 1775 Li Danois por li colpo pesant  
En reclamò Damenedé e [li] sant,  
E la Verçene Marie el baron san Vicant;  
El tra la spea al pomo d'or lusant:  
Gran colpo li done sor l'elmo franboiant,
- 1780 E cil eume fu forte e serant;  
Nen po trençer del noir ni de[l] blanc;  
La spea torne qe ferl in schivant,  
Conseit la tarça, tota quanta la porfant,  
E de l'aubergo la ghironea davant;
- 1785 Trosqua en tera la spea si desant.  
Le pain si clama Trevigant  
E Apolin e ses deo Maliant.  
El dist al Danois: 'Qi vos donò quel brant?  
Elo vos fu bon ami e parant.'

Coment li Danois apella le pain.

- 1790 'SArasin, dist el Danois, te vo' tu renoier,  
Lasar Macon e Jesu aorer,  
Venir à .K. li maino enperer,  
Et à lui rendre toti ses presoner?  
En crestenté avera' gran loer,
- 1795 Tera avera' à tenir e garder,  
Compagno sera' .R. et Oliver.'  
Dist le pain: 'E' non ò quel penser,  
Ançi me lasaroie tot le membre colper  
Qe quel ten Deo e' voia aorer,
- 1800 Ni Macometo delenquir ni laser.'  
Lor tra la spea, tel colpo li vait doner  
De l'elmo non trençe ma conseit li destrer:  
Le çevo li trençe, cil cal al verçer.  
Ma tosto se redriçe e ten li brando d'açer,
- 1805 Ver le pain s'en vait como un çengler.  
Le pain quant le vi, n'ait en lui qe aïrer;  
Molto se redote, q'el soit sença boser  
Qe cil Danois le doit à la fin trer;  
Ma tanto no se soit ne scremir ni garder
- 1810 Q'elo no lo fera desor l'elmo d'açer.  
De quel non trençe ma desor li destrer

[f. 74d]

1779. *pi* (?) between *Gran* and *colpo*: crossed out.

1784. *E doe*; cf. *Enf. Og.*, p. 538 rubric, vv. 592, 1037.

- Si desend li bon brando d'acer;  
 Le çevo li trençe, cil cal al verçer.  
 Li Danois li voit, prise Deo aorer,  
 1815 E le pain Macometo clamer  
 Qe le deça secorer et aider.  
 Dist le Danois: 'Tu a' molt mala sper:  
 Colu' no te po secorer ni aider,  
 Q[u]jele fantasma de legno e de per,  
 1820 D'oro e d'argento fato e pinturer.'  
 Dist le pain: 'Vu si' mo' mençoner,  
 Qe le vostro Deo è falso e lainer,  
 Quando se lasò prender e liger,  
 Desor la cros se lasò encloer,  
 1825 Ne pote si defendre ni aider;  
 Mal [l'] farà de vos anco' en ste jorner:  
 A la ma spea vos en covent finer.'  
 Dist li Danois: 'Poco varà nos tençer,  
 Ne vos parole, ne li vos menaçer.'  
 1830 Lor anbi dos se vait tel colpi doner  
 Ne lasent arme à trençer ni couper:  
 Trosqua la carne mete li brant d'acer;  
 En plusur lois en fait li sangue raier,  
 Ma l'un por l'altro è tanto pro e fer  
 1835 Q'i' no se dota la monta d'un diner.

Coment fo grant la bataille.

- LI dos baron sont ensenbre en le pré.  
 I' se conbate par molto grant aduré:  
 D'i brandi d'acer se dona gran colé;  
 Le armaüre sont tot detrençé  
 1840 E d'i aubers tot le gironé;  
 Nen fust Deo c'oit li Danois defensé  
 Avec Oliver fose enpresoné.  
 E quel pain molto se fo redoté:  
 Voluntera fose da lui desevré.  
 1845 Le Danois apela, si l'oit aderasné:  
 'Çivaler sire, e' son toto lasé;  
 Donà me treva anco' en sta jorné,  
 Trosqua deman qe l'auga ert levé.'  
 Dist le Danois: 'Voluntera e de gré,  
 1850 Ma d'una ren par voir vu saçé:  
 Qe da moi vu non serés sevré

1828. varo.

- Si seroit li prisi delivré  
 Qe vu avez in l'oste amené.  
 Dist le pain: 'Tel li ont en poesté  
 1855 Ne le renderà, si seront apiçé.'  
 Dist le Danois: 'Ço seroit gran peçé.'  
 Tot vide le pain qe estoit destiné;  
 Un tel cri mis e si fort oit uçé  
 [l. 75a] Q'elo fo en l'oste oldu et ascolté.  
 1860 Par lui secorer sont mile monté,  
 Li qual prenent le arme e li coré.  
 Voi le .R. q'era à li mur apoçé,  
 Qe sor li Danois venent tot aroté.  
 R. le vi, .N. oit apelé:  
 1865 'N., fait il, mal avon bragagné!  
 Qe Sarasin ont sa lo' falsé,  
 Qe arme ont pris, sor li Danois sont aroté;  
 Molto ert gran dalmaço se nu nol secoré.'  
 Dist dux .N.: 'De ço è verité.'  
 1870 Qi doncha veist .R. l'avoé  
 E Bernardo de Clermont e Morant de Rivé!  
 Por amor de .R. ne son mile monté:  
 Eisent de Paris, li fren abandoné.  
 Quando le Danois se vide si mal bailé,  
 1875 Sarasin se vi davant e daré,  
 El ten Curtana al pomo d'or entalé;  
 A li promer qe li oit aprosmé  
 Tel colpo li dona de sor l'eumo saufre  
 Qe tros li dente lo fende por mité:  
 1880 Morto l'abate roverso in le pré;  
 Prende le çival, sor la sela fo monté,  
 E à li rois Braer un altro en fo doné.  
 Adoncha començent grande la meslé.  
 Ben cuitoit li Danois eser pris e ligé,  
 1885 Quant il s'oit davanti soi guardé:  
 Conoit l'ensegna .R. l'avoé;  
 S'el oit proeza or non demandé.

Coment Braer lasoit li .D. e vient contre .R.

- QUant Braer oit cella jent veü  
 Qe de Paris en furent ensu,  
 1890 E furent plus de mille à lance et à scu,  
 Quando le vi, tot en fo iraseu:

1889. *ensu.*

- El lasa li Danois, ver .R. est venu.  
 R. li conoit à l'arma del seu.  
 Le pain fer .R. desor l'eumes agu,
- 1895 Ne l'enpira la monta d'un festu;  
 E de Durendarda .R. a lu' feru.  
 Ne l'enpira ma le seu a fendu,  
 E de l'auberg tot li giron fendu:  
 Grant fo li colpo, le brant fo desendu;
- 1900 Al çival trença le çevo de sor le bu,  
 E le pain fo à tera caü.  
 Preso fust, ma tosto fo secoru  
 E si le ont un bon çival rendu.  
 Quando fo à çival, ma' si çoiant non fu:
- 1905 Ne le stete guaires, da .R. fo partu.  
 Ben s'en alaste, quant li Danois l'oit veü:  
 Sor lui s'aresta, si le oit le çamin tolu;  
 (f. 75b) Elo l'apela si l'oit por rason metu:  
 'Sarasin sire, mal vos est avenu,
- 1910 Quant vu m'avés euz malvés deçeü,  
 Quando da vestra jent vos estes secoru:  
 Deo m'oit ben ver de vos secoru.'  
 Quando .R. s'en è aperçeü,  
 Dist le pain: 'E' l'ò ben veü,
- 1915 Quando el m'oit de son brando feru.  
 Meltre çivaler non vi ancor de vu.'  
 Dist le Danois: 'El fi ben coneü  
 En crestenté non è meltre de lu.'

Coment li Danois oit Braer.

- QUant li Danois oit veü Braer,  
 1920 Qe voluntera s'en averoit aler  
 E de li canpo partir e sevrer;  
 Sor toti li altri çivaler  
 Le Danois dota al brant forbi d'açer;  
 El soit ben d'altri no se poit doter,
- 1925 Qe avanti q'el s'aüst de sa tera sevrer,  
 El vi por arte e por celle mester  
 Qe un Danois le devoit atuer,  
 Ma cil estoit soto tera, dont no s'avoit doter,  
 Qe homo umo non po soto tera ster,
- 1930 E por ço no li dotava la monta d'un diner,  
 E por cil si pasò oltra mer

1928. *seera.*

- A s'i gran oste no se poroit esmer;  
 E li Danois non volse sego tençer:  
 El ten Curtana, so bon brando d'açer;
- 1935 Un s'i gran colpo elo li va doner  
 De sor li eume mais nol poit enperer,  
 Ma li brando desis de sovra li baudrer  
 E pris le braço con tot li brando d'açer  
 Q'elo li fait en le preo voler;
- 1940 Dever li bu va li brando coler,  
 La cosa li trençe con tot li baudrer:  
 Grant fo li colpo de li Danois Uçer;  
 Le païn fait en le preo verser,  
 Qe mais de lui no li estoit doter.
- 1945 Atant ecote vos .R. li avoer.  
 Quando el vi à tera li Escler,  
 Gran çoia n'oit por li Danois Uçer.  
 Qi doncha oldist le païn uçer  
 E s'i forte ment brair e crier!
- 1950 Non fo ma' lion ni orso ni çengler  
 Qe à lui se poüst asomiler.  
 Quant Sarasin vi son segnor verser,  
 Qe de lu' no ont plu sper,  
 En fua torna por poi e por river;
- [l.75c] 1955 E li Danois desis del destrer;  
 A ço qe Braer non poüst plu uçer,  
 Ne soa gent apeler ni clamer,  
 Elo li vait li cevo da[l] bu sevrer.  
 E li cont .R. non fo mie lainer:
- 1960 Al plu tosto q'el poit prist un mesaçer,  
 En Paris l'envoie à .K. l'inperer  
 Et al dux .N. del ducà de Baiver,  
 Qe in Paris no remagna peon ni çivaler:  
 Çascun qe poit guarnimento pier
- 1965 Escha de fors e vegna à li torner,  
 Qe Sarasin no s'en posa aler,  
 Qe li Danois s'i oit morto Braier.  
 Quant la novela oldi li enperer,  
 Par tot Paris fait li bando aler.
- 1970 Qi doncha veïst qui' çivaler monter!  
 Petit e grandi esent sença tarder,  
 No atendoit le fiolo li per,  
 Por secorer li Danois e .R. l'avoer;

1941. *toza*.1965. Between *fors* and *e* the abbreviation for *et*.



Meesmo li rois e .N. de Baiver

1975 Defora ensirent, sença nosa e tençer.

Coment Sarasin s'en fuirent.

QUando qui' Sarasin de la lo' mescreant

Vi son segnor çasere à li canp

E de Paris vi ensir tanta çant,

Dist l'un à l'altro: 'Mal ne va li convenant:

1980 Morto è in fin colu' qe li atant.'

En fua torne por poi e por pendant;

Non atendoit li pere son enfant.

Qui' Sarasin e Turs e Persant,

Dache morto fo Braer, ses amirant,

1985 Dist l'un à l'altro: 'Nu semo à niant:

Cil soit hon qe celoro atant.'

I' lasent le tendes, li pavilon tirant;

D'i presoner non curent niant;

I' s'en fuçent à miler et à çant,

1990 E .R. le incalçe e Oger ensemant.

Atanto ecote vos .K. maine, li posant,

E le dux .N. e Riçer e Morant:

Tant vait li rois avant speronant

Q'elo intrò en l'oste l'amirant.

1995 Quanti pain li trove de la loi mescreant,

Ça de la mort i' non oit guarant.

E li Danois e li cont .R.

Tant sont alé de treve en treve çercant

Qe il atrove Oliver li valant,

2000 Astolfo de Lengle e li doçe combatant.

Quando cel le veent, molto s'en fait çoiant,

Qe in ses man vidi n(i)u li brant.

[f. 75d] Quant li Danois vont reconoscant,

Si çoiant non fu unches à son vivant.

2005 Adoncha li cont non restò tant ni quant:

Tot li trait de poine e de tormant.

Adoncha çascun, sens nosa e bubant,

Avoient pris tot ses guarnimant;

Oimais non doti plus Sarasin ni Persant:

2010 Çascun de lor monta en auferant,

Le pain encalçent por poi e por pendant;

E cil s'en vait gran dol demenant:

1977. A letter added to canp: scratched out.

- Son segnor lase morto e recreant,  
 E d'i altri pain le remis ben tant  
 2015 Qe plus de cento mile en furent parisant.  
 Va s'en pain à dolo e à tormant,  
 La me[r]cé Deo, li pere onipotent;  
 Por li Danois si fo vinto li canp,  
 E s'el non fose esté, França era à niant:  
 2020 Tanti estoit cela jent mescreant  
 Qe contra lor nul aüst eü guarimant;  
 Mais por son segnor tuti furent recreant.

Coment Sarasin s'en fuirent.

- VA s'en pain por poi e por mon;  
 Son segnor lase çasant à li sablon,  
 2025 Tant des autres e veilart e guarçon  
 Qe por voir no se poroit dir li non,  
 Qe tot furent de la lo' de Macon.  
 E .R. l'incalçe à cuite de speron  
 Et Oliver e li doçe compaignon.  
 2030 Da l'autra part si fo li rois .K.  
 E le dux .N. e le dux Salamon  
 E li Danois c'oit morto li Selavon.  
 Va s'en pain, quel q'i vivi son,  
 E li morti çasent à li sablon.  
 2035 Le canpo oit vinto Frances e Bergognon;  
 Gran dol en voit menando q[u]i' Selavon  
 Por son segnor e por altri baron.  
 Arer torne l'inperaor .K.  
 E li cont .R. et Oliver, ses compaignon,  
 2040 E li Danois si conduit li preson.  
 Quan forent en Paris, tot le cloche sonon  
 Por la vitorie qe il le ne porton.  
 Si grande fu la proie qe il li reculon  
 No se poroit dire in verso ni in cançon:  
 2045 Çascun de qui' q'i avoir en volon  
 Plus ne portent qe i' non demandon.  
 Gran çoia fo en Paris e 'ntorno et inviron  
 Por cil avoir qe il li aporton.  
 Da qui avanti se renova la cançon:  
 2050 Mais non fo tel oldua par nesun hon.

2014. *paine*: e crossed out.

Oï avés coment por la proece del  
Dainois fo menet Braer li Saracin.

- (f. 76a) OI aveç de l'inperer .K. el man  
E d'Oliver e de li cont .R.  
E del Danois qe pais no fo vilan,  
Qe à la spée oncis le pagan  
2055 Qe avit pris tanti bon cristian  
E tanti morti là de for al can.  
A gran mervile el fo gran tiran:  
No era çivaler ni cont ni catan  
Qe avec lui durase à li can.  
2060 Par força prist li doçe combatan;  
Ma' sego à çostrà non volse aler .R.,  
Por q'elo soit por inçantaman  
Qe non estoit al mondo hon vivan  
Qe le pouïst vincer à lança ni à bran,  
2065 Seno li Danois por le inçantaman;  
E de questa colsa estoit ben certan.  
Or lason staire de ceste mal tiran  
E d'Oliver e de li cont .R.  
E del Danois qe oncis li Presan,  
2070 E lasaron stare de Marsilio e de Balugan  
E de Heumont e de li rois Trojan.  
Sì conteron d'una mervile gran  
Qe vene in França dapoï por longo tan,  
Pois qe fo mort Oliver e Rolan,  
2075 Li qual fi faire un de qui' de Magan,  
Dont manti çivaler morl d'i cristian;  
E por Marchario fo tuto quello engan.  
Unde, segnur, de ço siés çertan,  
Qe da pois, e darer e davan,  
2080 En crestentés non fo hon sì sovran  
Como fu l'inperer .K. el man,  
Ne qe tanto durase pena e torman  
Por asalter la loi d'i cristian.  
Contra pain el fo tot li sovran  
2085 E plu doté el fo da tota çan.  
El non ovro mie le conseio d'infan,

Rubric, *Dainos. Brair.*

2071. *Trouan.*

2072. Guesnard's edition of *Maccabre* begins with this verse. Mussafia prints vv. 2072-2077 as an introduction and begins his edition with the verse following the last one here given.

- E por ço durò 'lo plus de docento an(i),  
 Tanto qe el vene e Gugljelmo e Beltran.  
 Una dama avoit d'un parenté gran,  
 2090 Fila d'un enperer qe oit gran posan;  
 De Costantinopli, ensi l'apela la jan.  
 Blançiflor avoit nome cele dan,  
 Loial e bone e de grande sian.  
 Or entenderés la fin d'es roman;  
 2095 Qe Deo vos beneïe e meser san Joan!

Coment .K. tenoit grant  
 Corte entre Paris.

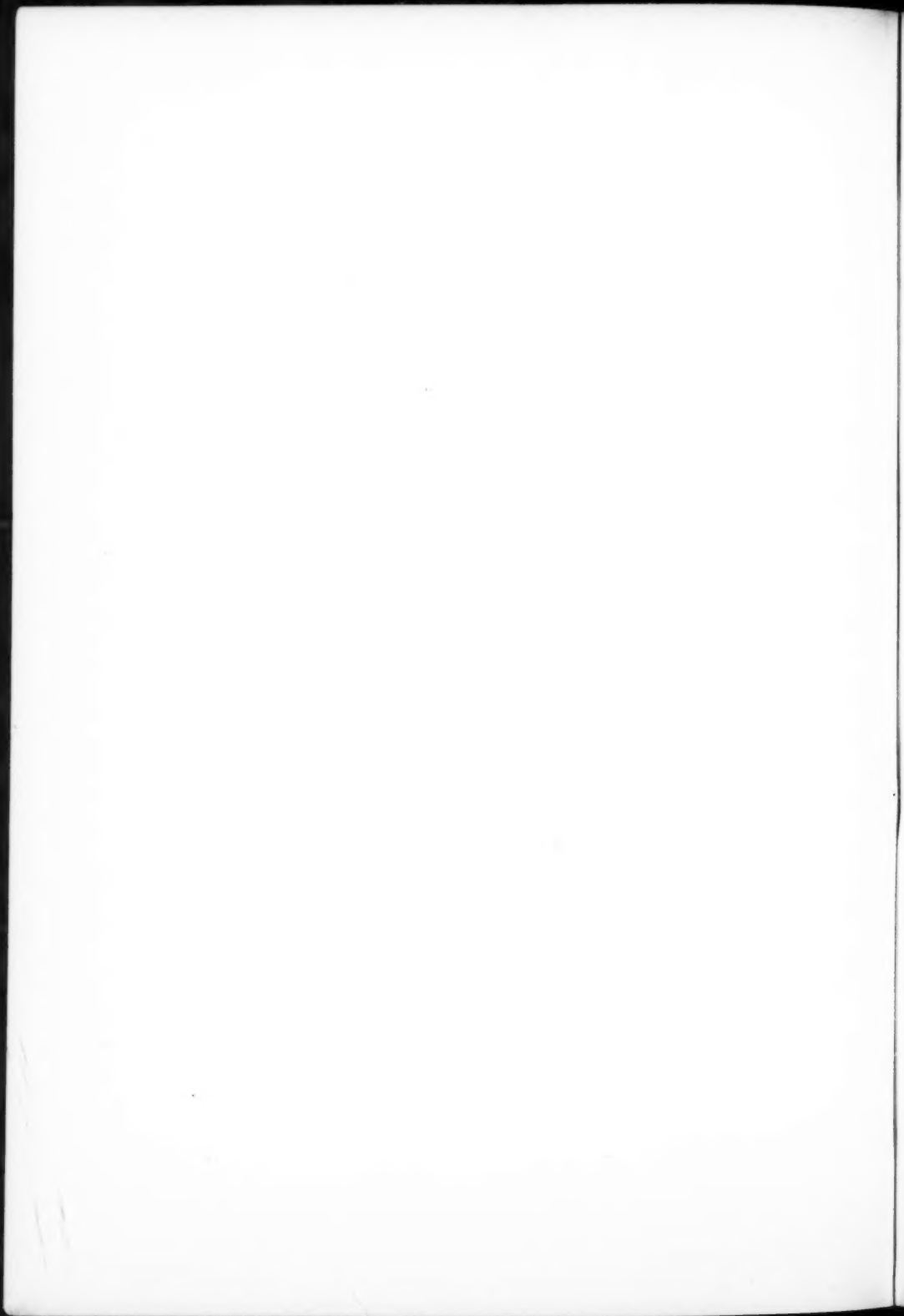
- [l. 76b] GRan cort manten .K. l'inperaor,  
 Entro Paris, son palés major.  
 Ilec estoit mant filz de valvasor  
 E manti dux, prinçes e contor  
 2100 E le dux .N., so bon conseleor.  
 Unqes el segle non estoit nul milor,  
 Ne qe de foi tant amase son segnor,  
 Ne qe tanto durase e pena e dolor.  
 Sor tot les autres estoit coreor,  
 2105 Unde da Deo el n'ave gran restor,  
 Da Deo del celo, li maine Criator.  
 Quatro filz oit de sa çentil uxor,  
 Qe fo d'i doçe per(e) e fo fin çostreor.  
 En Roncival fo morti à dolor,  
 2110 Quando fo morto .R. li contor,  
 Por li malvés Gaino, li traïtor,  
 Quant li tral à li rois almansor,  
 A li rois Marsilio, dont pois n'ave desenor,  
 Dont fo çuçé à modo de traïtor.

Coment Macario volse vergogner .K.

- 2115 GRan cort manten .K. man l'inperer,  
 De gran baron, de conti e de prinçer;  
 Mais sor toti fo dux .N. de Baiver  
 E li Danois qe l'omo apela Oger.

BARRY CERF

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## THE TECHNIQUE OF BRIDGING GAPS IN THE ACTION OF GERMAN DRAMA SINCE GOTTSCHED

[Concluded]

### 8. Reports Accompanied by Alarms

Not infrequently reports are strengthened by some accompanying audible or visible manifestation, elsewhere than on the stage. If audible, the audience may, or may not, be permitted to hear. If visible, of course only the characters can see. In Gottsched's *Cato*, noises (groans) are heard twice by the audience as well as on the stage, according to the stage directions: (*Man höret einen Tumult drinnen*). At the first noises Porcius rushes into the next room. The others continue the conversation, *for the stage must never be left unoccupied*. Then Porcius comes back with the report that Cato has turned his dagger against himself. As he concludes, Cato staggers forth, having stabbed himself in secret, to die openly, on the stage, after a long exhortation to son and daughter.

Schlegel in his tragedies makes frequent use of "alarms" as additional testimony in support of narrative. In the *Trojanerinnen*,<sup>1</sup> Andromache, in the confusion of the storming of the city, has hidden Hector's son in a temple. Ulysses is determined to destroy the house of Troy root and branch, and in his search for this very youth finds the mother, Andromache, who denies any knowledge of her son's whereabouts, pretending fear that he is already dead. Ulysses shrewdly suspects that the boy is hidden in the sanctuary and sends his soldiers to raze the temple to the earth. As the work of destruction progresses he points to the falling walls, for all is visible from the stage. In rising anxiety Andromache watches until her courage weakens, and to save her son's life she confesses his hiding-place in the temple. The boy is then found, seized, and hurled headlong from the highest battlement. The scene of torture for the mother, of cold calculation on the part of Ulysses, is extremely effective.

<sup>1</sup> First written in 1737; repeatedly remodeled; first published in 1747. Cf. Eugen Wolff, *Elias Schlegel* (Kiel, 1892).

In *Dido*, a cry is heard<sup>1</sup> from the adjoining room, where Dido kills herself. The door opens and we see her lying in her blood. She dies upon the stage, after last words.

In *Herrmann*,<sup>2</sup> shouts indicate the approach of the victorious warriors<sup>3</sup> and later when Herrmann appears<sup>4</sup> he brings the weapons of Varus to substantiate his report of a complete victory.

In *Orest u. Pylades*,<sup>5</sup> Eutrophe, the *confidante* of Iphigenie, enters and reports that a captain is coming with his men. Orest and Pylades, knowing that they are being hunted, leave their conversation with Iphigenie and attempt to escape at the moment when the voice of the high priest is heard at the rear. Then follows action back of the scene, punctuated by cries and comments of Iphigenie and Eutrophe, who remain upon the stage. Finally we learn from Iphigenie: "Ach sie sind übermannt!" and Eutrophe: "Schon führet man sie fort." Behind the stage the friends have struggled with the enemy, observed from the stage. The *struggle* is banished from the stage.

In Cronegk's *Codrus* (1758),<sup>6</sup> Medon, the savior of Athens, reports the favorable outcome of the conflict in a long prosaic narrative, awkwardly introduced and very evidently betraying its epic nature. Concluding his report, Medon cites the happy omens in the heavens. The terrible storm that has raged in sympathy with the human struggle has passed, and the deity promises favor and blessing. At the word a peal of thunder sounds from the left, the favorable token from the gods in support of his statement and the report.

*Jean Calas* (1774) is for Weisse the greatest departure among all his dramatic works. Usually he is conservative, leaning toward the old Alexandrine models, using those types and that technique. Suddenly he attempts to dramatize an occurrence of the day and succeeds in putting the newspaper account so to speak into dialogue form.

A young friend of the family visits one evening at the home of Jean Calas, a respected merchant of Toulouse, and a Protestant, though living in a Roman Catholic city. At nine or ten in the evening the friend, Lavaisse, and one of the sons of Calas start off for the former's lodgings. Calas and his wife accompany them to the

<sup>1</sup> V, iv (1739-44).    <sup>2</sup> 1741.    <sup>3</sup> V, ii.    <sup>4</sup> V, iv.    <sup>5</sup> II, iii (1745).    <sup>6</sup> V, xlii.



head of the stairs leading down to the street. Meanwhile another son, a gloomy, melancholy student, has hanged himself in a fit of despondency, in the lower hall. When the two young men descend the stairs after an exchange of greetings with Calas we have the following stage directions (*Ein Geschrei unten: sie horchen auf: Geschrei: man hört es*): "Das Gott erbarm! Mein Bruder! Weh! Weh! Hülfe!" Then Calas descends the stairs. Lavoisier soon comes up to quiet Frau Calas, and piece by piece we learn with her what has happened. All is told under great excitement, not as a narrative, but in exclamations. In answer to Frau Calas' question, Lavoisier says: "Nichts; Ihr Sohn—ah!" The mother faints. A physician is sent for; gradually we learn the details of the scene below. Calas appears again; he exclaims: "Mein Sohn wie beugst du mich!" He speaks of "dem Gericht melden"; of "meines Sohnes Schande," and the wife helps the report then by correctly surmising the suicide of her son. Caseing, a neighbor who has arrived, *hears a tumult in the street*, though we hear nothing.

This play makes use of an enormous amount of detail requiring many reports of action. Similar at least in this matter of mass of detail containing many reports is Goethe's *Götz*.

Here<sup>1</sup> we have a masterful and on the stage very effective scene made up entirely of a report. Selbitz is borne in wounded and lies braced against a tree. But he sends Faud to a vantage point whence he can follow with his eye the white plume of Götz, in his fight with the emperor's soldiers. The terse questions of Selbitz, his lively comment on the progress of the struggle which he sees so well through the eyes of Faud quite arouse the active interest of the reader or beholder. Thus, while none of the actual fighting is seen or heard by the audience, the whole thing takes place within sight and hearing of the stage, as we must conceive. By this means the author achieves a remarkable effect as of visible action.

In Bodmer's *Brutus*, Portia, as she anxiously waits and watches for the return of her husband, Brutus, from the assassination of Caesar, reports<sup>2</sup> what *she* sees: that the mob is collecting and becoming tumultuous. Soon the mob itself appears, only to cross the stage with half a dozen sentences.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> III, xlii.<sup>2</sup> V, v.<sup>3</sup> V, vi.

In Bodmer's *Pelopidas*, as in Weisse's *Befreyung von Theben*, the tyrant of Thebes is murdered before our eyes. Immediately afterward in each instance we hear the tumult in the next room, where the drunken revelers, guests of the tyrant, are being cut down: *Pelopidas*, III, iii (*Ein Geruf und Gelerme hinter der Skene wird gehört*). A report of the butchery then follows.

In Stephanie's *Deserteur aus Kindesliebe*, the scene<sup>1</sup> is the interior of a guard house, with guards and prisoners conversing in soldier fashion. It is characteristic of Weishard, the young ensign, who is on duty at the door, and who, the son of wealthy parents and supercilious, takes no part in the soldier's talk, that he first of all hears the sound of blows, and reports that Holbeck, against whom he has a grudge, must be running the gauntlet now. The report of his punishment is the first indication we have that the hero, Holbeck, has carried out his plan to desert, and allow himself to be captured at once, in order that the money paid for bringing in the deserter might be used to pay his father's debts. In this case Weishard hears but does not see the occasion of the "alarm."

Later in the same act<sup>2</sup> occurs the following:

*Man hört Geschrey inwendig.*

[CAPTAIN PLATT inquires:] Was ist das?

WEISHARD: Sie rufen: der König! der König!

The king, from behind the scene, then proceeds to give a happy ending to the play, his action being reported later on the stage.

In *Emilia Galotti* Lessing makes frequent use of "alarms." Recall the situation<sup>3</sup> where Marinelli first brings the prince to despair by his account of the failure of his plan to remove Appiani from Guastalla, and then, under false pretenses, secures from the prince *carte blanche* for a new intrigue even more daring. In addition, he receives the promise of exoneration from all blame for possible consequence. At the instant a *shot is heard* and Marinelli describes the deed at that moment being executed. Here the preparation for this report fills two pages, rising to a climax and passing in suspense to the next scene. Here also Marinelli stands at the window and *observes what is happening without*, mingling his own reflections with a run-

<sup>1</sup> III, 1.

<sup>2</sup> III, vi.

<sup>3</sup> III, 1.

ning comment or report upon what is taking place. The assassin, Angelo, approaches, and adds the details of the report.<sup>1</sup>

Odoardo,<sup>2</sup> after leading his wife and the Countess Orsina to the latter's carriage, paces up and down the arcade a few times to calm himself before going to the prince. Marinelli observes him from the window, and comments upon his state of mind: ". . . Nein, er kehrt wieder um. . . . Ganz enig ist er mit sich noch nicht. Aber um ein Grosses ruhiger ist er . . . oder scheint er. Für uns gleich viel!"

#### 9. False Reports

Another detail worthy of notice is the use made of *false reports*, reported action which has not really taken place. For present purposes, reports of this kind readily fall into two classes: first, those accepted as true by the audience as well as by the characters of the play; and secondly, those which the audience knows to be false, although believed by the characters for a time. The second class would have to be excluded here. The first class may be considered as being a part of the bona fide action so far as the audience is concerned, up to the moment when the truth becomes known. The use of "false reports" to secure dramatic or other effects is common in the Alexandrine plays. Here and there the action of whole plays is based upon a misunderstanding or false information. And the solution of the problem comes in a letter perhaps, or with the arrival of a traveler from distant parts, or with the confession of one who knows.

In Weisse's *Matrone von Ephesus*,<sup>3</sup> the whole action, such as it is, rests upon the fabrication of Dorias and Karion. Antiphila, the young widow, accompanied by her *confidante*, Dorias, sets herself down in the tomb of her beloved husband recently laid to rest, and vows to remain there till she dies of starvation or of grief. Soon hunger makes its call; and a dashing young officer, attracted to the tomb by the light of the mourners, loses his heart at once to the pretty widow. His duty for the night is to guard the body of a felon hanging upon the gallows near by. He is responsible for his charge with his life. Dorias, not wishing to die of hunger, willingly

<sup>1</sup> MARINELLI (*der wieder nach dem Fenster geht*): "Dort fährt der Wagen langsam nach der Stadt zurück. So langsam? Und in jedem Schlage ein Bedienter? Das sind Anzeigen, die mir nicht gefallen:—dass der Streich wohl nur halb gelungen ist. . . ."

<sup>2</sup> V, I.

<sup>3</sup> 1744, a comedy of one act.

partakes of the officer's lunch. Antiphila still pretends a lack of interest in all things earthly, and threatens to use her dagger to hasten her own death if the soldier further disturbs her mourning. To cure her mistress of her hypocrisy, Dorias leaves the tomb for a moment, returning with the report that the body has been stolen from the gallows, at the same time giving Karion a sign. The latter goes out, and soon returns, vowing that the body is indeed stolen, that love for her has made him forgetful of all things, even of a soldier's duty, and that his life is forfeit unless someone demand him in marriage according to the old custom. Alarmed, the widow begins a line of reasoning which justifies a new matrimonial venture. Dorias' report, sustained and supplemented by Karion's report, furnishes the only foundation for action.

In Gebler's *Wittwe*<sup>1</sup> the widow, Gräfin Holdenthal, has several suitors who are temporizing until the result be known of a suit which if successful would make the countess a very desirable "catch," and if unsuccessful would leave her nearly penniless. Here again the "action" depends upon the reports which come in from time to time concerning the progress of the trial. First comes the news that the decision has been reached. Then bad reports arrive, which we must consider true on the face of them. Even the uncle of the countess, the king's minister, has lost his position or resigned, removing all hope for his niece. The suitors make their apologies and take their leave, until finally the report comes, this time true, that the countess has won everything and that the uncle has been reinstated in power and influence. Thus the countess' eyes have been opened to discriminate among her ostensible admirers, and *Laster*, in this case avarice, receives its due reward in being cheated of its end. But the action takes all of its energy from the reports of the suit in progress.

The report which deceives the audience as well as characters in the drama may be used to work up a very dramatic situation. The scene in Krüger's *Vitichab* already described (III, v)<sup>2</sup> is preceded by a false report, and in itself contains a false report. Siegmär returns to the German camp from the battlefield and reports to the old queen mother very circumstantially the course of the battle; how Vitichab's life has been in danger, how Siegmär had retreated

<sup>1</sup> 1770.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above p. 19.

in order to assist his prince, and how the whole German army had then fled. The effect upon the camp of this apparently reliable but really false report is an immediate outbreak of excitement, shame, and passion for revenge. The old queen, Adelheid, is spokesman. She is on the point of seizing arms herself and rushing with the other women to the aid of the men, when Gundomad arrives. His well-elaborated report has been described above: at first ensue further misunderstanding, more confusion, more reproaches. Then comes the true report. From the depths of despair the camp is raised to the joy of certain victory, but alas! even Gundomad must report the loss of their leader, Vitichab. He describes in detail how the prince fell, and how his body was rescued from the enemy. Here again is a circumstantial account, proven false by the arrival of Vitichab himself (IV, i) upon the scene. The whole situation, really somewhat exciting, is made out of whole cloth. It is based upon two false reports. That is, false reports prepare the way for effect by contrast, and the real report comes with the desired force in a situation thus built up.

Perhaps one more illustration will suffice. In Bodmer's *Tarquin* the people of Rome have risen against the tyrant, after the shameful act of his son, Sextus, and Tarquin and Tullia his wife are shut up in their palace. Notice here a bit of juggling with reports to secure effect. In III, i, Tarquin informs us that Sextus is with the army, which is true to him, and that he will probably come soon with relief. Here is hope for Tarquin. Tullia follows this speech with enlightening comment upon the situation in the city. All classes are united against the tyrant and the woman who drove her chariot over her own father's body. Tarquin's hope for help from Sextus and the army is *the only hope*. Then follows (III, ii) the report of the general, Herennius, just arrived from the army as their ambassador to the Senate, for whom they have unanimously declared. That is to say, no help will come from the army. These three reports follow in quick succession and are well planned: Tarquin has one hope, the army: but this one hope is *the only hope*; and the news brought by Herennius destroys this *only hope*.

Here again the false report is used for the sake of contrast, to prepare the way for the true report.

## B. SUBSTANCE OF REPORTS

For the purpose of this examination the matter of reports falls conveniently into two categories, according to its practicability or impracticability for stage presentation. To be sure, the standard of practicability has varied considerably since that time. But if the mechanical resources of the stage today are far greater, the demands made upon them have equally increased; and at a time when all actors, irrespective of the setting of the play, wore powdered wigs and high headdresses, not much in the way of absolutely faithful reproduction of originals (*Naturwahrheit*) was exacted in stage settings. If imagination could help over one such difficulty it might easily conquer other difficulties of faulty or partial staging; so that relatively it was no less possible to meet the requirements of the public in staging a given scene at that time than at present. By observing proper precaution we shall not be led far astray in judging of the practicability of the *presentation on the stage of certain action*.

1. *Matter Which Might Be Presented Directly*

A large number of reports belong to the first category. The matter reported might with perfect ease be presented on the stage. For instance: in Gebler's *Klementine* the burning of certain papers and their being snatched from the fire offers no difficulties. We might not care to witness the fainting fit of the heroine, however. In *Adelheid* the reported attack of faintness arrives so suddenly when Adelheid receives the ill-omened letter, that she falls with a crash which we hear in the adjoining room. From the point of view of the heroine there might be satisfactory reasons for reporting rather than staging just this scene. Likewise in Lessing's *Der junge Gelehrte*, two quarrel-scenes are reported, as likewise the table-scene with the various occupations of the chief characters. In almost all reports of this class there is some reason other than the difficulty of stage presentation which caused the author to report the action. These reasons will be discussed farther on.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Matter Not Easily Capable of Direct Presentation*

Passing to the second class—those reported rather than staged because of practical difficulties of stage presentation—these reports

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 64 ff.

readily fall into several groups: movements of large numbers or over large spaces; actions lasting for a considerable time; action or situations suppressed from aesthetic or ethical motives; psychological processes, affecting the conceptions, the conclusions, the will of others so that the action of the persons is influenced.

The first of these groups is found to be very inclusive. Running through the list of reports in the plays examined, we find, for instance, battle-scenes reported in many tragedies; as in Gottsched's *Agis*, Krüger's *Vitichab*, Pitschel's *Darius*, Melch. Grimm's *Banise*, Brawe's *Brutus*, Weisse's *Krispus*, Bodmer's *Der vierte Heinrich*, *Kaiser*, and most of the other tragedies of their period. With Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* and the middle-class tragedy (*bürgerliches Trauerspiel*) came reports of other events than battles. But much other material belongs to this first group: mutinies and popular uprisings; in Bodmer's *Cato*, a meeting of the Roman Senate; in others of his patriotic plays, gatherings of citizens; in Gottsched's *Cato*, the arrival of ships in port. And many other examples are to be found.

Of reports of *movements over large spaces* there are also many, of many details: in Schlegel's *Dido* the attempt to burn the ships; attempts to escape, as, for instance, from the city;<sup>1</sup> a forenoon's hunt.<sup>2</sup> In Schlegel's *Geschäftiger Müsziggänger*,<sup>3</sup> Fortunat wanders through half the village making various ridiculous purchases, on his way to the house of the Minister. There are almost as many and as varied examples of action lasting over considerable time: as in Cronegk's *Der Misztrauische*, where the company has waited an hour for Timant to appear; or in many of the reports above cited, where the action is extended.

A number of scenes could be cited which for *ethical* or *aesthetic reasons* are preferably reported. One or two examples will suffice. In Gebler's *Klementine* the autopsy to determine the fact of the poisoning of the Baron takes place in the house but not on the stage. Again, the meeting of the prince with Emilia in the church is better reported than seen. In the *Kindermörderin* of Wagner, however, as early as 1776, there is an attempt in truly modern spirit to present on the stage, in all the details of reality, the evil of the society of

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, *Banise*.

<sup>2</sup> Ayrenhoff, *Postzug*.

<sup>3</sup> 1741.



that day. This play was actually presented, although afterward withdrawn from the stage.<sup>1</sup>

Other classes of matter reported, to be only mentioned here, are (1) action requiring a different scene for only a short time, therefore hardly worthy of a change of scene, even on the most "realistic" stage. The actions or situations themselves, while belonging properly to the main action, may be so brief as to be easily passed over without a shifting of scenes. Many such reports occur in the comedies of this period. Important situations are often brought to the single scene of action and elaborated. Brief actions are reported. (2) Death scenes are often described. The discussion of these classes of reports will occur later in more detail.<sup>2</sup>

It has already been indicated that the subject-matter of reports began to change under the influence of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson*. Before that time tragedies had dealt with the fate of kings and princes, men of high estate, whose personal dispositions affected the nation. With such material for subject-matter of the drama, naturally the reports deal with expressions of this power, with battles, with armies, with popular movements, with plots and councils. In the case of Weisse, whose works may be considered to indicate conservatively the dramatic tendencies of his time, we find his tragedies, including *Atræus und Thyest* (1766), making use of such subject-matter. Only in two tragedies does he choose a middle-class theme: *Die Flucht* and *Jean Calas*.

In comedy no such striking change is to be detected in the subject-matter of reports. Before as well as after the appearance of *Minna von Barnhelm*, comedy concerned itself with the lives of the middle and lower classes chiefly. The fundamental change in the aim of comedy brought with it differences in the choice of material, to be sure; but in the matter of reports not much change is noticeable, because, after all, the material was taken from the daily life of common people.

Again, important psychological processes are often more easily reported than presented on the stage. One example may suffice.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *D. Lit. Denkmale*, XIII, "Vorrede z. d. Theaterstücken H. L. Wagners." This presentation was by the Wake Co. in Pressburg. Few changes were made for the stage.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 67 ff.



Krüger in his *Vitichab* requires for his plot that Dankwart the (supposed) son of Siegmar should assassinate Vitichab, in reality his own brother. To this end he *relates* to us<sup>1</sup> how Tiberius in some marvelous fashion wins over Dankwart (Radogast) to the Roman cause. Now Tiberius has just mortally wounded Siegmar in single combat and has been attacked in turn by Dankwart. It was the duty as well as the passionate desire of the son to avenge the father. Yet in the heat of the conflict he allows himself to be seduced by the enemy of his country and the murderer of his father. We should prefer to see for ourselves by what persuasive powers this miracle was wrought.

#### C. THE PLACE OF OCCURRENCE: HOW DETERMINED

##### 1. *Kinds of Dramatic Writing*

Having now discussed methods and technique and the subject-matter of reports, some observations may be made as to where reports occur. And it at once becomes evident that they appear most frequently and to the greatest length in tragedy, during this period.

Because the results so obtained are representative for the period we may once more take the works of Weisse by way of illustration. In twelve comedies the aggregate number of lines of report was about 172; in nine tragedies,<sup>2</sup> 680 lines; which means an average of 75 lines for each tragedy and 13 lines for each report, and only 14 lines for each comedy and 10 lines for each report. Thus the average amount of report in the tragedies is five times that of the comedies and the average length of each report is slightly greater. The number of reports in the nine tragedies is 54, in the twelve comedies only 17, or as 3:1. One of these nine tragedies contains no reports,<sup>3</sup> while four of the twelve comedies are without report. Thus the number of individual reports is less in comedy.

If we compare the usage in *Minna von Barnhelm* with that in *Emilia Galotti*, we find a similar preponderance of report in tragedy.

There are two possible grounds for these conditions. First, in comedy, the author is more concerned with the development of dialogue in ludicrous situations. The action or activities of the

<sup>1</sup> V. I.

<sup>2</sup> This excludes *Jean Calas*, which is of entirely different character.

<sup>3</sup> In the sense of reported action.

characters are not so much intended to be of importance in themselves as to be laughable to the spectators, and are therefore to be seen, not reported. In fact many of the early comedies are hardly more than a series of comic situations with little or no dramatic unity in the modern sense. Secondly, the subject-matter of comedy is simpler; direct presentation of the action is therefore less difficult, and the necessity of employing the "report" is reduced in consequence.

In both tragedy and comedy Weisse narrates most where he has to handle the most material in the plot. He is helpless before details of the action and in both cases resorts to narrative out of pure necessity. Thus the four comedies<sup>1</sup> which contain no report are all extremely simple in plot, and are of one act only. Another of one act<sup>2</sup> has only 10 lines of report, and two of three acts<sup>3</sup> each have respectively 14 and 20 lines. Some of the five-act comedies have only a few lines, but the highest number of lines of report is found in these more pretentious plays, in one<sup>4</sup> 50 lines and in another<sup>5</sup> 44 lines.

The operetta (*Singspiel*) has some similarity to the comedy. The action and the plot are extremely simple. The situations are even more emphasized and the transitions even less carefully made. Thus the occasion for reporting action is reduced, and in fact the number of reports is very small, usually only one or two, the total number of lines ranging from 5 to 15. Only in *Lottchen am Hofe*<sup>6</sup> (1767) there are 72 lines of narrative, distributed in three reports. In the *Aernte Kranz* (1770), one of the two original with Weisse, there are two reports and 6 lines of narrative.

In the pastoral play of this period almost the same is true. The plan, not to speak of a plot, is as simple as the characters themselves, and narrative is seldom made use of.

## 2. The Author's Regard for the Three Unities

Many narratives exist only because the author has conformed strictly to the "three unities." Especially was the author helpless

<sup>1</sup> *Naturaliensammler*, *Weibergeklatsche*, *Groszmuth*, *Walder*.

<sup>2</sup> *Matrone*.

<sup>3</sup> *Poeten*; *Der Misstrauische*.

<sup>4</sup> *Projektmacher*.

<sup>5</sup> *Freundschaft*.

<sup>6</sup> This is a free translation after Mme. Favart, *Minette à la cour* (1756).

before the requirement of unity of scene. As late a writer as Gebler, in his *Klementine*, relies almost entirely upon reports for his action, as though for him there were no other technique possible. There seems to be no attempt upon the author's part to bring the action upon the stage.

But Elias Schlegel was keenly conscious of the problem of presenting the action as action upon the stage, of the injustice and the unnaturalness of the narrow requirements which bound the drama of his time. We have his forceful protest against the current construction put upon the unity of place:<sup>1</sup>

. . . kurz, wenn die Personen nur deswegen in den angezeigten Saal oder Garten kommen, um auf die Schaubühne zu treten, . . . es würde weit besser gewesen sein, wenn der Verfasser, nach dem Gebrauche der Engländer,<sup>2</sup> die Szene aus dem Hause des einen in das Haus des anderen verlegt, und den Zuschauer seinem Helden nachgeführt hätte; als dasz er seinem Helden die Mühe macht, den Zuschauern zu gefallen, an einen Platz zu kommen, wo er nichts zu tun hat.

In practice, however, Schlegel adhered closely to the unity of place, as did the others of his time. Had Schlegel lived a few years longer,<sup>3</sup> with his growing independence in forming his conclusions and in expressing them,<sup>4</sup> and especially because of his growing cosmopolitanism, his readiness to adopt the good and reject the bad from whatever source, French, English, Italians, or Danes, he would doubtless have hastened the day of freedom from slavery to the French unities, to *Delikatesse*, and the like. As it was, Lessing was in large part responsible for the transmission of English freedom to the German drama, in its beginnings.

As for change of scene, Lessing's early comedies have strictly one scene. But the appearance of the characters in this one room is each time much better motivated than in the plays of his contemporaries, whose scenes of action are often absolutely colorless, the presence of the persons unaccounted for. In *Miss Sara Sampson* there is frequent change of scene, at the beginning of each act, and besides this III, ii, and again III, vii, back to the scene of III, i. These

<sup>1</sup> "Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters," *Werke*, Bd. 3. S. 295 (1747).

<sup>2</sup> As early as 1741 Schlegel had written a comparison of Shakespeare and Gryphius.

<sup>3</sup> He died in 1749, at the age of thirty.

<sup>4</sup> See Rentsch, *Schlegel als Trauerspieldichter* (Leipzig, 1890), 12 ff.

changes in Act III may have been made by means of a "middle curtain" as in I, iii, however. This "middle curtain" is used from the very first of this period, for example, in Gottsched's *Cato*. But Lessing even moves his scene to another house, Act II: "Der Schauspielplatz stellt das Zimmer der Marwood vor, in einem andern Gasthofe."

Cronegk says in the foreword to his *Codrus* (1758):

Die That des Codrus, nämlich sich unbekannterweise unter dem Thore umbringen zu lassen, war gar nicht auf die Bühne zu bringen, und muszte durch eine Erzählung vorgetragen werden, wenn man nicht die Einheit des Ortes beleidigen, oder, welches eben so viel wäre, einen zweiten Vorhang wollte aufziehen lassen. Einige deutsche Tragödienschreiber gebrauchen dieses Mittel mit dem Vorhange. Meine Meynung davon will ich nicht sagen: aber die Meynung d'Aubignac will ich Ihnen hersetzen, ob Sie ihn gleich so gut kennen, als ich. Er saget: "ces rideaux ne sont bons, qu'à faire des couvertures pour berner ceux, qui les ont inventés et ceux, qui les approuvent."

To use Weisse's tragedies again to indicate conservatively the progress made by the German drama toward greater freedom from unity of scene, we find that in the year 1764 he finishes two tragedies, in each of which there is a change of scene with the opening of Act V.<sup>1</sup> After this time he vacillates; changing the scene in Act V only in *Atræus und Thyest* (1766) and *Romeo und Julie* (1767); returning to strict unity of place in *Die Flucht* (1770), and with utter freedom of scene in *Jean Calas* (1774). This last play<sup>2</sup> shows undoubtedly the influence of *Götz*,<sup>3</sup> and we know the Shakespearean origin of Goethe's wild joy in overriding the bounds of unity of time and place.<sup>4</sup> Weisse seems to have been quite carried off his conservative footing by the popularity of *Götz*, to conclude from the difference between *Calas* and any previous play of his.

The comparative freedom of scene in Lessing's *Minna*<sup>5</sup> and the complete freedom in his *Emilia* and his *Nathan* are too familiar to require mention.

In the latter part of this period careful writers, while adopting to a limited extent freedom of scenes, preferred to restrict the change to the fifth act. Even actor-dramatists like Brandes and the younger

<sup>1</sup> *Kriepus* and *Die Befreyung von Theben*.

<sup>2</sup> Appeared in June of the previous year.

<sup>3</sup> As well as of Lillo's *London Merchant*.

<sup>4</sup> See *Rede zum Shakespearetag*, 1770.

<sup>5</sup> At the beginning of each act, but only two scenes are employed.

Stephanie are conservative. Brandes in the *Medicäer* admits two changes, and in the *Gasthoff* and *Der Schein betrügt* no change. In Stephanie's *Deserteur* there is only one change, but in his *Werber* occur frequent changes. Bodmer shows Shakespearean influence by changes of scene, but always at the beginning of acts. However, from about 1770 on, the number of those plays requiring frequent change of scene increased rapidly.

Of comedy it may be said in general that progress toward freedom of scene was slower than in tragedy because the plot was simpler and there was less need for change of scene. Even Lessing's *Minna* has only two different scenes, making the change only at the beginning of acts.

The requirement of strict unity of place explains the presence of a large number of the reports in the dramas examined. Authors who are, and when they are, bound by unity of place make relatively more use of reports.

However, other elements enter in to determine the occurrence and the extent of the employment of "reports." Granting the observance of strict unity of place, the subject-matter of the drama itself may be difficult of presentation on the stage; the action may include several battles or the like. Again multiplicity of detail may cause the full direct presentation of the action to increase unduly the length of the drama. Reports considerably condense presentation. Gebler's *Adelheid* illustrates this well. *Adelheid* is a theatrical play, with perhaps half the action on the stage. But there is much detail, too much to be worked into the stage action of that time, even with the four changes of scene. Hence much is reported.

The unity of time was strictly observed throughout this period. Only occasionally was there an example of moderate freedom. Thus Bodmer's *Brutus* lasts through somewhat more than twenty-four hours. Even Lessing carefully observed this requirement, and freedom came first with the new admirers of Shakespeare and the English, of whom Goethe was one.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. The Author's Regard for "Delikatesse"

As to why certain kinds of action are reported, the reason must be sought in what was termed "*französische Delikatesse*." According

<sup>1</sup> Compare Götz for lack of unity of time.

to French canons it was vulgar to present bloodshed or fighting or any rough or energetic action upon the stage. Death itself was usually banished from the scene, or if admitted, was carefully rehearsed to eliminate all unpleasant characteristics. Elias Schlegel,<sup>1</sup> while still (1741) writing as a pupil of Gottsched "von der Unähnlichkeit in der Nachahmung" says:

Der Abscheu vor der Sache, die uns vorgestellt wird, tötet öfters die Lust, die wir aus der Ähnlichkeit derselben empfinden wollen, und gebiert statt derselben in uns Widerwillen und Ekel. Sollten uns Raserei, Ohnmacht, und Tod so schrecklich abgebildet vor Augen stehen, als sie in der Tat sind; so würde öfters das Vergnügen, das uns die Nachahmung derselben gewähren sollte, in Entsetzen verkehrt werden, das Röcheln und Zücken eines Sterbenden würde die Beherztesten aus ihrem Vergnügen reizen, und die Erinnerung, dasz es nur ein Betrug sei, würde zu schwach sein, unser Gemüth, welches einmal von traurigen Empfindungen voll wäre, wieder aufzuheitern. [Diese Teile der Handlung kann man] auch nicht hinweglassen, ohne den Menschen die lebhaftesten Vorstellungen zu rauben. Es ist kein anderes Mittel übrig, als dasz wir diese Bilder den Vorbildern unähnlich machen. . . . man wird wenigstens dasjenige, was bei dem schrecklickten Augenblicke des Todes noch sanftes und süßes wahrgenommen werden kann; ganz gelinde Bewegungen, ein Hauptneigen, welches mehr einen Schläfrigen, als einen, der mit dem Tode kämpft, anzuzeigen scheint; eine Stimme, welche zwar unterbrochen wird, aber nicht röchelt, zu der Vorstellung des Todes brauchen können; kurz, man wird selber eine Art des Todes schaffen müssen, die sich jedermann wünschen mochte, und keiner erhält.

This protest of Schlegel's, and the readiness with which the French standard of delicacy, fine propriety (*Delikatesse*), was adopted by those Germans who were endeavoring to raise the standards of the German stage, can be correctly explained as a reaction, to an extreme at first, against the coarseness of the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* which until recently were the only German dramatic product. Germans began to realize that the usage of their neighbors was much more refined, and a first step was to adopt the foreign standards bodily.

Weisse, writing twenty years later in the *Beytrag zum deutschen Theater*, speaking of what the Germans might well learn from the French and from the English, and what they should avoid, says:

<sup>1</sup>Dramaturgische Schriften, Werke, III, 174; cf. *Deutsche Lit.-Denkmale des 18. Jahrhunderts*, XXVI, 102.

"Das Zügellose, Unregelmässige und oft in eine Wildheit ausartende der Engländer, und das lächerliche, galante, coquettenmässige und seichte der Franzosen vermeiden." So that Weisse still disapproved of the energy of the English stage. Bodmer, while an admirer and imitator of Shakespeare's historical plays, considered any attempt to bring battle-scenes or fighting upon the stage to be ridiculous and out of place.<sup>1</sup> So much from some of the dramatist-critics before and contemporary with Lessing.

It is necessary to observe to what extent these principles were carried out in the practice of dramatists of this period. In tragedy Gottsched, and his adherents generally, carefully avoided anything which might offend the most refined taste. In his *Cato*, Act V, Gottsched followed Addison closely, but Addison in his turn was an imitator of French technique. Hence Gottsched's imitation of him. Cato stabs himself behind the curtain and comes forth supported by attendants, to die after a long parting address<sup>2</sup> to son and daughter. This last scene is partly French, partly Gottsched's own, but not English. The death-scene is robbed of all unpleasantness. No fighting or roughness is permitted on the stage. Ephr. Krüger avoids death, battles, and duels. Schlegel avoids death-scenes by means of reports in *Dido*, *Die Trojanerinnen*, *Herrmann*, and *Canut*. He avoids acts of force, battles, and duels in *Orest*, as well as in all of the others named. Yet in *Orest* the king dies upon the stage, and we see Orest in his madness and the king in his rage.<sup>3</sup> Dido retires behind the rear curtain to stab herself, but after her scream the curtain is withdrawn and we behold the end.<sup>4</sup> Cronegk causes his hero, Codrus, to receive his mortal wound without the city gates, but he is carried in to play his rôle to the end and dies upon the stage as the curtain descends.

Weisse allows Richard III to enter with bloody dagger, and to strike dead the rascal Catesby before our eyes. In *Mustapha* (1761) we see at the last the band of rough janissaries in considerable numbers, the black servants of the Sultan, and murder upon the stage. In *Rosemunde* of the same year we see a double poisoning and death

<sup>1</sup> Seuffert, Introd. to Bodmer's *Karl von Burgund*, in *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale d. 18. Jahrhunderts*, IX.

<sup>2</sup> Twenty-nine lines.

<sup>3</sup> Revised for the last time in 1745.

<sup>4</sup> *Deutsche Schaubühne*, V (1744). Final form.



upon the stage. Nothing is reported. In the *Befreyung von Theben* (1764) one murder is done before our eyes, wholesale slaughter is reported in the next room, and fighting without in the streets. In *Atreus* (1766) a tumult of the people is reported, but death occurs in Act V upon the stage, for here, as in *Krispus*, of the same year, the scene is changed for the express purpose of making the death upon the stage possible. Likewise in *Romeo* (1767) we see the death of Romeo and Juliet by poison and dagger at the family tomb. Here a curtain at the rear is used to secure the change of scene. In *Jean Calas* (1774) all sorts of action are both reported and seen.

In Brawe's *Brutus* the death of Brutus occurs on the stage.

In Gebler's *Adelheid*, on two occasions, a fainting fit of Adelheid is reported—in one case we hear the noise as she falls to the floor, striking a chair, as we are told later.

Moreover, II, vii, the madness of Siegmar is reported, not seen, perhaps out of consideration for the feelings of spectators. Yet in the fifth act Siegmar, in making a thrust at Dahlen of whom he is jealous, runs his own wife through with a sword and then kills himself in true "theatrical" style. Also in Gebler's *Klementine*, the taking of poison we see, but fainting and death occur elsewhere than on the stage.

Bodmer several times avoids death scenes by reporting, such as the death of Caesar in *Brutus*, and the slaughter of the banqueters in *Pelopidas*. He prefers to report fighting, as in *Italus* or *Pelopidas*. But several times he introduces considerable numbers upon the stage; in *Brutus*, V, iv, or in his *Cato* the group of women protesting against the bill to prohibit the wearing of personal adornment. And in his *Italus* he allows (III, ii) the strenuous heroine herself to stretch the false Alboin, her suitor, in the dust with his own spear when he boasts of killing her lover, Sigoveses.

In practice the theory is not always strictly adhered to, even by Schlegel himself, and as the English drama, meaning chiefly Shakespeare, became better known in Germany and Switzerland, the greater freedom in point of delicacy (*Delikatesse*) became apparent in the works of German dramatists.

It is of interest to note the almost entire absence of *ensemble*-scenes in the early plays of this period, and the substitution there-



for of narrative. The plays named above, *Mustapha*, *Brutus*, and *Cato*, are the only examples observed where considerable numbers occupy the stage at once. Bodmer may have been influenced by Shakespeare, but for Weisse the technique is surprising. On the other hand, a multitude of instances like the assassination of Caesar in *Brutus*, or the meeting of conspirators, testify to the use of reports to avoid such mass-scenes.

In comedy nice propriety (*Delikatesse*) is observed in other regards by the first writer of modern German comedy, Frau Gottsched, less than by her successors. Frau Gottsched practiced her husband's theory: "Es musz also eine Comödie . . . die gemeinsten Redensarten beybehalten."<sup>1</sup> For example, in her *Testament* (1743) she uses oaths and figures which would be questionable in any society, one of her feminine characters, Amalie, joining in the merriment. On the other hand she reports, for instance, the scene at the table as do Cronegk, Gellert, Ayrenhoff, and Lessing in his *Der junge Gelehrte* (III, i). Now and then such a scene is presented for certain especial purposes, as when Stephanie shows the humble peasant family at supper with their own soldier son quartered at their home. The simple long-suffering of the honest parents gains an effective background from this scene. In Stephanie's *Werber* there is repeated eating and drinking. In Brandes' *Gasthoff* there is drinking upon the stage. These of course follow Lessing's *Minna*, where there is drinking. Just enjoys the landlord's good brandy without experiencing a change of sentiment toward the donor. In IV, i, the morning meal has just been taken, the table is cleared, and coffee is served and partaken of (IV, iii).

#### 4. The Author's Models for Individual Plays

Especially in the earlier part of this period German writers of dramas regularly chose several plays, or often only one play, usually French, after which the new play was constructed.<sup>2</sup> In this process, since every other detail was closely imitated, it was natural that almost the exact technique of narrative reports was also faithfully if not always well reproduced. It is useless to attempt here more than to cite a few characteristic examples.

<sup>1</sup> *Critische Dichtkunst*, 2. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1737), II, ii, par. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See Gottsched's *Schaubühne* for names of such writers and the models used.

Gottsched with his *Cato* represents the one extreme of close imitation. "Reports" are copied word for word with the rest from the original of Addison and Deschamps.<sup>1</sup> Where Gottsched inserts any composition of his own it is only to elaborate the report found in the model.<sup>2</sup> In the translation of reports the technique sometimes suffers, as when Addison says (V, i): "Hark! a second groan! Heaven help us all," which Gottsched renders (V, vii): "Allein das Poltern wird zum andern Mal gehört. Ihr Götter! Steht uns bei!" With most other writers of "original" plays published in the *Schaubühne* there was similar close imitation of the technique of reports, without the direct borrowing of language from the model. The technique is that of the French plays published in translation in the *Schaubühne* as models.<sup>3</sup> In comedy, Frau Gottsched's technique in her three original plays<sup>4</sup> is very like that in her prose translations from Des-touches.<sup>5</sup>

With Elias Schlegel it is difficult to speak of direct imitation of models in this detail of technique. For his first tragedies the ideas and material came from classical sources. He had studied with zeal Euripides, Sophocles and Horace, Hédelin and Boileau, Opitz and Canitz.<sup>6</sup> But in addition he had mastered the principles of the *Critische Dichtkunst*. To the material of Euripides and Seneca, therefore, he applied the rules learned from Gottsched in producing his *Trojanerinnen* and his *Geschwister in Taurien*. *Dido* was written at first to oppose a regular play to the irregular *Dido* of his friend Schell, a fellow-pupil at Schul-Pforta. In his later plays, while he takes materials and ideas from many sources in a very cosmopolitan way, his formal technique in the matter of reports remains always his own interpretation of the French rules learned from Gottsched.

In his earlier tragedies especially, Weisse clings closely for his material to dramas already successful. There is evidence enough that he was familiar with Shakespeare's *Richard III* before he wrote his own tragedy of that title. Here imitation of model in the technique of reports is unquestionable. The material of the English play is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Joh. Krüger in *D. Nat. Lit.*, XLII, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. IV, iii.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Racine, *Iphigénie* (translated by Gottsched); Voltaire, *Zaire* (Joh. Joach. Schwabe) and *Alzire* (Frau Gottsched); Corneille, *Horatier* (Glaubitz) and *Cid* (Lange).

<sup>4</sup> *Die ungleiche Heirat*, *Die Hausfranzösin*, *Das Testament*.

<sup>5</sup> *Das Gespenst mit der Trummel*, *Der Verschwender*, *Der poetische Dorfjunker*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Wolff, Schlegel, 51.

forced into French form. As late as 1764, when *Krispus* appeared, Weisse imitated essentially the technique of reports of his real though unacknowledged model,<sup>1</sup> Racine's *Phèdre* (1677). *Romeo und Julie* is another attempt to improve upon Shakespeare. It is interesting to compare the technique of reports. The action reported (III, i, v) appears upon the stage in the English plays. With Weisse, IV, i takes the place of V, i, ii with Shakespeare, but in Shakespeare we see Romeo as he receives the news of Juliet's death (V, i). The report of five lines (IV, v) does not appear in Shakespeare, but the reports in V, v (Weisse) and V, ii (Shakespeare) correspond. Thus Weisse makes more use of the report, but the reports of Shakespeare are far more effective.<sup>2</sup> It may be noted here in passing that in the first printed form of Weisse's play the speeches were much longer than in the later edition; IV, v, for instance, was twice as long.<sup>3</sup>

Direct imitation of one or a few definite models during the construction of an original play, including the technique of reported action, can be affirmed only of the first part of this period, say till 1750. It is as if the technique had to be learned by the German dramatists by working over concrete models. In the fifties and sixties frequent examples of such imitation are found, as in Weisse's *Krispus*. In general, however, the technique was by that time so well in hand that material from any source could be forced into the stereotyped form.

##### 5. *The General Influence of Foreign Dramaturgical Ideas*

Unquestionably the dramaturgical ideas of Germany at the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century were adopted almost bodily from France. The French drama developed from the Latin; the tragedy especially from Seneca, without very great influence from the Greek.<sup>4</sup> Corneille was the first important dramatist and critic to interpret Aristotle for France. When the study of Greek models came to be given the place of first importance, the conventions which had developed in France out of the Latin drama had

<sup>1</sup> Compare the reports in *Phèdre*, II, vi with *Krispus*, III, iii; *Phèdre*, III, iii with *Krispus*, III, vii. The reports in *Phèdre*, V, v, vi are not found in Weisse's version.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. IV, i (Weisse), V, i (Shakespeare).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Beitrag zum deutschen Theater*, 5. Th. (1768); *Traversspiele*, 4. Th. (Leipzig, 1776).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Miller, *The Tragedies of Seneca* (Chicago, 1907); Introduction by Manly, 6.

already been fixed or were taking definite form, and Corneille explained Aristotle in such manner as to support the French usage as he found it, and was making it.<sup>1</sup> It is of chief interest therefore to see the resemblance between the French drama even of the time of Gottsched, and the tragedies of Seneca.

Some of the characteristics of Seneca's tragedies are, to use Manly's phrasing, "love for broad description, for introspection and reflection, for elaborate monologue, and catchy sententiousness." He finds "an accumulation of horrors and a consistently unfortunate ending," "the perfection of form" only, "a formal schematism, clear because simple and lifeless." He mentions the "scanty scenery," as the "cause of long descriptive passages"; "passages of fine language, *eloquentia*"; and the "melodramatic character" of the plays.

Of these characteristics some went over to the French and some to the English, somewhat according to the temperament of the two peoples. In French tragedy we find love for description, introspection, reflection (with or without *confidants*), "a formal schematism," often "clear because simple and lifeless," "scanty scenery," "fine language." In English tragedy we find, rather than these characteristics, presentation of action of all sorts upon the stage, even "horrors"; death upon the stage in violent form; in general a much more marked tendency to melodrama. Descriptions in Shakespeare are rather short and suggestive than "broad."

Thus occurred a wide separation between the dramaturgical ideas of England and France. At the beginning of the period of this examination, the one-sided development of the French drama had nearly reached its culmination. It remained for Diderot to begin the criticism necessary to open the eyes of Frenchmen to the faults of their drama. In Germany Diderot found in Lessing one who eagerly took the best from him as he did from others and rejected what he

<sup>1</sup> "Il faut donc savoir quelles sont ces règles; mais notre malheur est qu'Aristote et Horace après lui en ont écrit assez obscurément pour avoir besoin d'interprètes, et que ceux qui leur en ont voulu servir jusque ici ne les ont souvent expliqués qu'en grammairiens ou en philosophes. Comme ils avoient plus d'étude et de spéculation que d'expérience du théâtre, leur lecture nous peut rendre plus doctes, mais non pas nous donner beaucoup de lumières fort sûres pour y réussir.

"Je hasarderai quelque chose sur cinquante ans de travail pour la scène, et en dirai mes pensées tout simplement. . . ."—Corneille, *Discours du poème dramatique*, 16.

found to be false. Germany proved to be better soil for the seeds of reform than did France; for the French ideas were after all exotic and superficial in Germany. French formality held far shorter sway there than had the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*, the wild outgrowth of the Shakespeare stage in Germany. And now the return swing of the pendulum soon became rapid toward the English idea of action on the stage, character as expressed in action, not described. The movement began definitely with Lessing's prose tragedy of burgher life, in 1755. Two years later Brawe's *Brutus* appeared, in pentameter, showing influence of English form. In 1764 appeared Weisse's *Befreyung von Theben*, showing not only in external form (pentameter), but also in many other ways, English influence. The later tragedies of Weisse are all in prose. Weisse's concession to English ideas shows how popular those ideas had become in Germany. By the second half of the sixties, in fact, the reform was assured; and by the early seventies spirits were ripe for the Shakespeare revolution that came with *Götz*. The interest of this present examination stops, however, with the attainment of freedom from the slavery to rule, and leaves the further development into violent extremes for later observation.

To resume briefly, early in this period the German tragedy inherits from the Latin through the French the technique of reported action, the requirement of nice propriety (*Delikatesse*) being added by the French. The "horrors" of Seneca are passed on to the English, while the French refinement of taste becomes so affected that not even a box o' the ear is permitted without protest, not only from the owner of the ear, but from the critic as well. Only under Lessing's influence are the two elements of the Senecan tragedy reunited.

Moreover there is characteristic of the German plays of this period directly influenced by the French a strong tendency to paint human feeling, sentiment. It was an effort to present character as opposed to action. But it seems to me to be one expression in Germany of that sentimentalism or *sensibilité* which was a watchword of the eighteenth century in France. At first this characteristic was universal in German tragedy. The growth of English influence caused its disappearance to a large extent.

In the light of what has preceded, the relation of these changes to the technique of reporting action is apparent. Suffice it to say that the freedom gained from external forms and in the selection of subject-matter was accompanied by similar independence from requirements affecting narrative technique, such as the unity of place, *Delikatesse*, and the like; and it became the effort no longer merely to make reports formally perfect, but to make them *effective*, to make them *accomplish* something toward the action.

#### D. THE FUNCTION OR OCCASION OF REPORTS

##### 1. *To Present Action*

After having thus far considered the technique and substance of reports and the place of their occurrence, let us examine as to the function of reports and the occasion for their employment.

Except where mentioned, no reports have been considered which are not necessary to the completeness of the dramatic action; but the dependence of the action upon reports varies greatly within this period. In the tragedies of Gottsched and his followers, Ephr. Krüger, Melchior Grimm, Pitschel, Camerer, and Elias Schlegel,<sup>1</sup> almost the entire action is reported. Cronegk depends somewhat less upon reported action. Bodmer reports almost all his action. Brawe reports some of the rising action, the falling action, and the retarding moment. Gebler, in Vienna, one of the last followers of the old "regular" school, supplies thus almost every step of the action in his *Klementine* (1771). Weisse's tragedies show much variation. In *Edward III* (1758), *Richard III* (1759), and *Befreyung von Theben* (1764), almost all the action is reported. In *Krispus* (1760-64) and *Romeo und Julie* (1767), somewhat more of the action is seen. But here in each case there is change of scene (V). In the *Flucht* (1769-70) and *Jean Calas* (1774) most of the action occurs before our eyes with change of scene. In the case of *Mustapha* (1761), *Rosemunde* (1761), and *Atreus und Thyest* (1766) there is little action and almost nothing reported. In the last-named play there is change of scene in the fifth act.

Weisse's use of the report to present action seems to depend first upon the matter chosen for the drama. If there was much

<sup>1</sup> Whose early works belong in this category.

action he necessarily reported much. Secondly, if he allowed himself a little more freedom from the strict unity of place, the amount of narrative was reduced. But he never won any real independence from the narrow technique he had once for all learned of Gottsched.

Lessing, in *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755), several times reports action. All the reports are in the fifth act. The administering of the poison is reported in four scenes: i, v, vii, x; the incident of the stranger who enticed away Mellefont is reported in three scenes: i, ii, iii; the departure of Marwood, in scene v; and the report that no physician could be found, in scene x. There is much here to remind one of the old technique, with elaborate reports, divisions of reports among several persons, with even a restatement of the narrative as a whole in one case.<sup>1</sup> But an essential difference between these reports and those of others of the same decade is, that these reports are interesting because of the fact which they communicate, and not as an elaborate account of an important action. For instance, it makes the end certain when we learn from Mellefont that no medical assistance can be found. Our interest is only for the fact. Likewise we have no desire to see the various stages of Miss Sara's fainting fit and just how the poison was administered. We are quite satisfied to hear the testimony. These are details subordinate as compared with those parts of the action which have occurred before our eyes. Lessing surrounds the framework of his action with interesting but *subordinate* reported action; his predecessors and many of his contemporaries presented the *framework* by means of narrative.

## 2. To Motivate Expressions of Emotion

Following a discussion of the use of reports to present the action of the drama, it should be observed that in most tragedies of the first half of this period the end of drama was not action. It was emotion that was portrayed. Not human beings moved to action by passion and will, but human sentiment expressed or described in what was considered to be sympathetic and beautiful language. Especially is this true of the Alexandrine plays of this time; so much so, that in support of this statement almost any one of them might justly be cited.

<sup>1</sup> The poisoning: the letter of Marwood recounts all the circumstances.



With this condition clearly in mind, it is no longer difficult to understand the use of reports to motivate the expression of emotion. A single report of very scant action suffices to set off long tirades, and a succession of such reports builds up a slender skeleton having the task of supporting and lending shape to a body only too often ponderously flabby. Whether consciously or not, the author aims first to express emotion. In effect he subordinates action, using it as a means to an end. Even substituting the report for presentation upon the stage, he makes action a mere source of motivation. The extent to which this process is carried varies greatly. Frequently it extends through the whole play, or only isolated speeches may be thus motivated.<sup>1</sup> But in this wise much of the "report" in the early part of this period is to be accounted for.

### 3. To Motivate Action

The next most important use of narrative is to motivate following action. Thus the matter of a report may or may not be itself a part of the action in the narrow sense; yet if later events would be unmotivated without the given account, the report becomes essential.

The employment of narration for the purpose of motivation occurs to a considerable extent in the tragedies of this period, especially the later ones, but is even more frequently found in the comedies. Thus in Gebler's tragedy *Adelheid* (1774), the report of armed men concealed in the woods motivates the presence of the bandit who sends the fatal letter to Adelheid. Or the reported reading of the letter by Adelheid motivates her whole succeeding action, her efforts to leave her husband, who appears now as the murderer of her former betrothed lover. In Frau Gottsched's comedy *Das Testament*, the report<sup>2</sup> of the broken carriages and the lame horses motivates the decision of Frau Tiefenborn to remain at home instead of going to the country as planned. In Weisse's *Matrone von Ephesus* (1744) he motivates the whole action by news concerning the body hanging on the gallows. In his *Poeten nach der Mode* (1751), II, ix serves to make the situation clear at once, and the following action intelligible; in like manner III, ii serves the same purpose. The same

<sup>1</sup> El. Schlegel, *Herrmann*.

<sup>2</sup> III, iv.



technique is found in *Der Misztrauische gegen sich selbst*, *Der Projektmacher*, and others. In Brandes' *Gasthoff* (1767) the whole action is rather sprawling and not well motivated, but the reported occurrences are parts of the action, and furnish a basis for further action. In Ayrenhoff's *Postzug*,<sup>1</sup> the steward (*Verwalter*) describes a table-scene, which motivates several events that take place later: the Count expresses suspicions, founded upon occurrences at the dinner, as to a love affair between his bride and the major; and the conversation with Lisette is an important scene for the action.

In Lessing's early comedies the reports motivate the action to a large extent, as for instance, in *Der junge Gelehrte*, II, iii, or III, i, the report of the table-scene. Sometimes this is done in a threadbare fashion, as in *Die alte Jungfer* (II, i) Lisette tells Lelia quite apparently so that we may know what to expect: ". . . sie hat den Augenblick nach einem Schneider, nach einem Spitzenmanne, nach einer Aufsetzerin und nach einem Poeten geschickt."

A difference is noticeable in the comedies between the nature of the earlier and the later reports in many cases. The more strict use of narrative carefully to motivate a part of the action of the play as a whole is more often found in the later comedies. In the earlier ones the reports serve as a basis for the local situation without so much relation to the unity of the action. This of course was a fault of the whole play, not of the report. The early comedies were rather a succession of situations, capable of indefinite multiplication. A report was used in two ways: first, a comparatively short account was sometimes expanded to a ridiculous situation in the mere telling, as in Joh. Chr. Krüger's *Candidaten*.<sup>2</sup> Johann dallies with his report, cracking jokes until his master threatens his life, when he pretends to begin to relate the events "historically" in lieu of a better order of events. The result is that a short report in substance covers four pages in the telling, and if well played the situation might be quite ludicrous. Or secondly, a narrative is made to open a situation, which is then so developed as to be laughable, as in Weisse's *Misztrauischer* (II, iii), where the bold Herr Pelfer turns to his own advantage Frau Drummer's report;<sup>3</sup> for he lets it be understood

<sup>1</sup> II, i.

<sup>2</sup> V, i.

<sup>3</sup> That someone unknown has presented her daughter with a beautiful gift, suitable as a gift from an accepted suitor.

under the very eyes of the real suitor, whose proxy (*Bräutwerber*) he is, that he, Pelfer, is the lover and the author of the gift in question. Thus a ludicrous, if somewhat impossible, situation is developed, based upon the report of Frau Drummer.

#### 4. *To Relieve the Author in His Helplessness*

Very frequently the occasion for narration is the pure helplessness of the author before the difficulties of dramatic composition.

If the author is in embarrassment as to how to gather up the loose threads of his story and put an end to the "action," for example, he inserts a narrative report, which serves his purpose immediately and quickly: as in Weisse's *Edward III* (V, ii), where Nordfolk lends the author much needed assistance in hastening the end. Especially in the Alexandrine tragedies the presentation is so broad that, to get anywhere, considerable action must be condensed into reports.

The natural inclination to advance along the line of least resistance explains the tendency to *describe* action in detail, supplying motives practically at will; because the spectator has no way of controlling the author's statement without seeing the action with his own eyes. This is assuredly a comfortable method of securing the desired effect of the action without the trouble of presenting the whole action in a convincing way to the spectator. This method is especially convenient where a psychological process has to be shown.<sup>1</sup>

Another kind of report is a manifestation of helplessness on the part of the author. The great dramatists of the world, among them Shakespeare and Schiller, when confronted with an extended action involving a mass of detail, have had the power of selecting characteristic and essential actions for careful presentation, of subordinating some minor details, and of rejecting what was unnecessary. The faculty rightly to select and reject is not the least sign of greatness in a dramatist. Among the dramas examined there are several in which the author is overwhelmed by the details and can help himself only by condensing them into reports and introducing thus *all* the circumstances of the action. By closer motivation much of the material carried along might have been dropped, and the action

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Krüger, *Vitichab*, V, i; see p. 62.

made clearer and simpler. Here are evidences too of the naturalism which appeared at this time and manifested itself in various ways. In the drama there was a tendency to copy life as it actually existed, to present on the stage a bit of real life. Thus Weisse's *Jean Calas* (1774) presents dramatically before our eyes the "tragic" fate of a poor French Protestant, but is no tragedy. At the same time, the author introduces with great circumstantiality all the details of the current accounts of the event, making very frequent use of the report.

Short reports are used here and there to move the persons about, like wires of the puppet show. In Frau Gottsched's *Testament* (II, vii) occurs an excellent illustration. Amalie never allows her aunt to be alone for more than a few moments at a time, in her eagerness to overhear all plans with reference to the making of the aunt's will. This has gone on before our eyes continually. Just now the author wants to introduce an important situation in which the aunt receives and accepts an offer of marriage—a most important development in the "aunt's plot" of the action. Of course this situation must not be interrupted prematurely, so the author announces a reason why Amalie does not appear as we should otherwise expect: "Nein, ich habe ihr einen Brief an meinen Kaufmann in der Stadt zu schreiben gegeben. Den kann sie in keiner Stunde fertig bekommen." Again (II, x), Dr. Hippokras has disappeared for a time and he has to report how he has busied himself: "Fr. v. Tiefenborn: 'Haben Sie etwa wieder was erfahren?' Dr. Hippokras: 'Nein. Ich habe einige von euer Gnaden kranken Hofgesinde besucht, und da fast anderthalb Stunden zugebracht.'" Other such instances occur in the same play: III, vi, III, vii.

Gellert uses reports to move his characters about, usually short reports. Thus in *Das Loos in der Lotterie* (1746; II, vii) Damon has led his sister-in-law out to the garden; similarly in III, ii, vii; V, vii. Compare also *Die kranke Frau*.<sup>1</sup>

##### 5. To Effect Transition or to Occupy Time

There are several minor uses made of reports which may be mentioned. A report stands occasionally at the beginning of an

<sup>1</sup> Written before 1747; *Lustspiele* (Leipzig, 1763).

act or of a scene to connect it with the preceding division. Thus in Gebler's *Adelheid*, III, i seems to be distinctly a "transition" report connecting Act III with Act II. Dahlen, in Act III, takes up the report begun by himself to the servant, Gotthard, in the last scene of the previous act and completes the information concerning Siegmar's attack of madness before passing to the further action of Act III.

Again, a report may be used to occupy time in order to secure the effect of verisimilitude (*Wahrscheinlichkeit*). No better illustration could be found than Act V, scene v of Gottsched's *Cato*. Porcius is commanded by his father to run down to the harbor and see if the fleeing fugitives are safe on the ships. Thence he returns, V, vii, with a report. To fill in the time while Porcius does the errand three scenes are inserted. Of these scene v is a narrative. To keep us interested Phokas entertains us with a description of the innocent sweet sleep and probable dreams of the noble man, Cato. He has just seen him lying in slumber behind the curtain at the back of the stage, which perforce represents an inner room. In addition, this report is intended to center our attention upon Cato, and arouse our sympathy for the hero just before he takes his own life. The catastrophe follows quickly after this, during the recital of Porcius.

Narrative is frequently used to substantiate as fact, as finished, what has previously been outlined, or made probable, or agreed upon before our eyes. Such reports are found both in tragedy and in comedy.<sup>1</sup>

#### 6. To Reveal Character

Reports of two other kinds should be discussed here, classified according as they are used for the purpose of characterization, or of presenting the author's philosophy in "purpose dramas."

Persons are made to report much, in the dramas examined, with the effect, and doubtless also the intention, of filling in details in our conception of this or that character of the action, making it more real, or perhaps only more pronounced as a type. There are many degrees of closeness in the connection of such reports with the action. Here only those have been considered which contribute directly to the action and to the conception of character. Strictly,

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Gottsched's *Cato*, II, vii; Chrn. Krüger, *Candidaten*, II, xli.

many such reports are episodes, serving as exposition rather than as action in the narrow sense. But in the period under consideration strict classification from a modern standpoint becomes impracticable, because of the different conception at that time of the nature of dramatic action.

To cite one example from many: In Bodmer's *Brutus*, IV, x, in a moment of the severest trial, as Brutus stands in Caesar's house with good reason for believing that his plot has been disclosed to the dictator, a slave comes bringing news to Brutus that his wife has fainted repeatedly. He knows the cause—anxiety for him and his undertaking. Yet he maintains a cool, self-reliant exterior; a test of strength well added.

#### 7. To Present the Author's Philosophy

Of "purpose dramas" there are two kinds. The author may so choose or shape his material that (a) the actions preach his philosophy without words. The reader draws the necessary conclusions. Or (b) the characters, with more or less introduction, make active propaganda for the author's views. Bodmer, in his national dramas, sometimes uses a narrative to introduce a subject for discussion, so to speak, an occasion for patriotic harangues. Slightly different in nature is the report in *Brutus*, III, iii. In one sense the action recounted is simple: Cassius took Brutus to the meeting of conspirators and they made plans to murder Caesar. But the author intends to report and does report more than the mere outward action. He wishes to convey to us an impression of the confusion of opinion among the conspirators before the coming of Brutus and their united sentiment afterward. To this end he causes Cassius to quote indirectly the different opinions expressed. At this point he very cleverly allows us to see Brutus deceive himself before our eyes in a characteristic manner. Cassius says, ". . . in jedem Angesichte glühete der Zorn, der einen Vater, einen Sohn, eine Braut zu rächen hat"; Brutus substitutes for revenge his own higher motive: ". . . wir wollen nichts rächen, Cassius, als das Vaterland, in ihm hat Caesar jedem Römer, Vater, Sohn und Braut ermordet"; and by unconsciously imputing his own noble sentiments to others Brutus fatally deceives himself.

Here the action to be reported is not merely a deed in the author's mind, not merely the coming together in a meeting, nor even merely the conclusion reached or determined upon; just as important it is to him to report the philosophy, the steps by which the determination was reached. The transition is easy from reporting such philosophizing to further discussion, and such a transition occurs. Brutus' speech cited above, coming after two pages of narrative, introduces a whole page of philosophizing upon the deserts of a tyrant, capable though he be, at the hands of republican patriots. Brutus, whose thoughts are upon deeds, then returns to the report of plans completed at the meeting. But even with Brutus Caesar is not briefly "Caesar," but ". . . den . . . der sein Leben nach allen göttlichen und menschlichen Gesetzen verwürkt hat." No chance is lost to promulgate the republican doctrine. The report finally goes over into a continued consideration of plans, supported by a further extensive course of philosophizing.

In Gebler's *Adelheid* less preaching is done, but the facts are made to speak loudly for themselves and the moral is plain: the evil of jealousy and of too passionate love.

#### 8. *To Add Significant Coloring to Salient Features of the Action*

Occasionally actions gain in force by being reported, not seen. A number of reports can be cited where the account takes on color of some kind from the medium of transmission. In Gebler's *Klementine* (II, xi), Friedrich, in reporting the arrival of the police officials after the death of the Baron, contrives to add to the mere report the apprehension that foul play has been done. The report has gained this touch of suspicion from the medium of transmission. Or in *Adelheid* (I, vi), Hedwig reports to her brother Siegmar the visit of a strange man during his absence, with a communication for Adelheid, Siegmar's wife. This action, if seen, might be and was simple enough. Yet heard from Hedwig's lips, jealous of Adelheid and impetuous as she was, it was a different matter. As reported by her the account was colored with insinuations calculated to fire the suspicious nature of her brother, and from merely passing through this medium the report gained in effectiveness over the plain event if seen on the stage.

## III. CONCLUSION

## A. CHANGES IN THEORY

To review in conclusion the results of our examination of this period, we find very little expression of theory definitely applicable to the technique of reports. Starting with the borrowed views of Gottsched and his followers, as best stated in the *Critische Dichtkunst*, we find arguments for the strict observance of the unities, of *französische Delikatesse*, for correctness of form, for the use of verse (Alexandrine) in tragedy, and of prose in comedy. Following the straight line of development, Elias Schlegel is the next to offer any important contribution to theory, with his protest<sup>1</sup> against slavish adherence to the unities, especially the unity of place. He urges also the advantage of verse for comedy as well as tragedy.<sup>2</sup> Lessing alone seems to have heeded the young Schlegel, by whom he must have been influenced early in his career. And Lessing, who forced a hearing for himself, not only emphasized the protest of Schlegel,<sup>3</sup> but rebelled against the prevailing idea of *Delikatesse*,<sup>4</sup> supported with arguments<sup>5</sup> the middle-class tragedy which he introduced, taught the use of prose for the serious drama,<sup>6</sup> required real action in place of sentiment, and among other things emphasized the necessity of making the dialogue natural.<sup>7</sup>

The theories of these three men were by far the most important in determining the development of the technique of reports. It is unnecessary here to mention the theoretical writings of such men as Cronegk, who protested<sup>8</sup> vehemently against even the use of a curtain at the rear of the scene, or as Weisse, who, while giving out a policy of compromise between French and English dramaturgical ideas,<sup>9</sup> in effect followed the old pattern almost up to the last.

## B. CHANGES IN PRACTICE

In practice, however, the actual evolution can be detected in numerous details, as appears in the foregoing. In closing, a brief review of the more important evidence is added.

<sup>1</sup> *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters* (1747).

<sup>2</sup> *Schreiben über die Komödie in Versen* (1740).

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. 46. Stück.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, 56. Stück.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, 14. Stück.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, 13. Stück.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, 59. Stück.

<sup>8</sup> *Preface to Codrus*.

<sup>9</sup> *Beytrag zum deutschen Theater* (1765), Part I, Introduction.



Of considerable interest is the development of the monologue. At first it was carefully avoided to satisfy the requirements of verisimilitude (*Wahrscheinlichkeit*). As means to this end, *confidants* (*Vertraute*) were employed. With the conviction that the means were even worse than the original evil, the confidence was transferred to the audience, and now the monologue was used even to an extreme and without sufficient motivation, by authors like Brandes.

Toward the last years of Lessing's life, and through the influence of his example, the assignment of reports to certain types of characters ceased to a large extent, and it was possible for any character to be the bearer of a report properly motivated.

Not only was the pedantic use of types cast overboard; but there began with Lessing, or more properly with Elias Schlegel, a serious study of the technique of the drama hitherto unknown in Germany. Circumstances occasioned that only Lessing's thoughts should become widely influential. The changes found at this time were by no means all concretely introduced by Lessing; rather was it true that his great example stimulated emulation in others, even in this period. For we find some men such as Gemmingen, who worked well and thought with much independence.

Among other evidences of the deepening of the study of technique are the following changes in the technique of individual reports.

At the beginning of this period, the emphasis upon form extended even to the "reports." Their mechanism became very elaborate as formal technique developed, so that three different classes are distinguishable: undisguised narrative, embellished narrative, and veiled narrative. As a result of Lessing's influence and serious study the reports retain the best of this formal technique, with as little cumbersome machinery as possible; but their nature is essentially changed by the beginnings of psychological development.

In the early plays we find elaborate expansion of reports, even to great length, with labored attempts to increase the interest even to a small climax within the narrative. The element of excitement in reports is at first largely physical, later it becomes psychological. Moreover the introduction of real suspense marks a change from early methods. The conversational style is at first exceedingly circumstantial, and not until Lessing had set the example was a



rapidly moving natural dialogue attained, except occasionally. After the appearance of *Minna von Barnhelm* imitations were many. The use of minor details of technique, interruptions, and the like, Lessing essentially subtilized. There was an increase in the skilful use of "alarms" to accompany reports.

There is a remarkable development also in motivation: motivation of the choice of characters, of the use of the narrative, and of individual reports. At first external and obvious, or lacking entirely, the motivation became later skilful and usually psychological.

Psychological development in reports before the appearance of Lessing's later dramas is rather accidental than otherwise.

Aside from these narrow but not unimportant details of technique, there were broader changes affecting the "reports," tallying closely with the theories of Lessing already cited. The growing freedom from the slavish observance of the three unities and of *Delikatesse* made possible the introduction to the stage of much action hitherto reported. Matter was now excluded from direct presentation by reason of its unimportance or other impracticability, not for mere formal reasons. Thus, whereas "reports" were at first a necessity for the presentation of action, they were used later at the discretion of the author. Closely related to this also is the change in the end or object of the tragedy. After Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* especially a unified *action* was assured to the drama and not a mere dramatic presentation of emotion.

In the external form there is a gradual change from Alexandrine verse to the English measure, pentameter, and, through this intermediate step,<sup>1</sup> to prose. This is true for the tragedy. In the comedy, prose was used from the first by Frau Gottsched, although Alexandrines were employed occasionally by a few authors, among them Elias Schlegel. As is well known, Lessing was in large part responsible for the introduction first of pentameter, and then through his *Miss Sara Sampson*, of prose. Later, in his dramatic poem *Nathan*, Lessing returns to verse, a circumstance prophetic, as events proved, of the return of the German classic drama to a preference for verse.

Very marked is the change in style, reaching even the reports, from wordy, inflated descriptions to conversation, in both tragedy

<sup>1</sup> For others than Lessing, e.g., Weisse.

and comedy. Here the influence of the middle-class tragedy (*bürgerliche Tragödie*) is evident. There is less necessity for reporting action. Instead of the old descriptions of battles and the like, action difficult of reproduction upon the stage, the action now occurs naturally within four walls, perhaps. Moreover, from the nature of the case the style of language of the middle-class tragedy is simpler, homelier. In the comedy of Lessing, the dialogue is put upon a basis of sparkling intellectuality, in place of humdrum circumstantiality—in reports as elsewhere.

In conclusion, it may be said that the development of the technique of reports in the German drama of this period is away from that of the French drama. Beginning with complete adoption of French technique in this detail, as in others, as early as 1747 Elias Schlegel began to protest. To be sure, he had read La Motte's criticism as well as English dramas; just as Lessing had read Diderot. But in both cases the honor of the French prophet was least at home. The French were less ready than the Germans for reform, as Lessing says, because the drama, as it was, was a product of their own, and dear to them, while in Germany it was a foreign growth, more readily displaced by something better. Certain it is that with the appearance of *Miss Sara Sampson* in 1755 a period began in which the Germans led the French in the reform of dramatic technique.

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## LATIN TEXTS OF THE DANCE OF DEATH

In the year 1833 Francis Douce, writing upon the subject of the Dance of Death, spoke of "a Latin poem that seems to have been composed in the twelfth century by our celebrated countryman Walter de Mapes, as it is found among other pieces that carry with them strong marks of his authorship. It is entitled 'Lamentacio et deploracio pro Morte et consilium de vivente Deo.' In its construction there is a striking resemblance to the common metrical stanzas that accompany the Macaber Dance." Douce then cites from two manuscripts of the poem, giving their names in a footnote; he indicates no difference between the two texts in structure, although such exists in marked degree.

Eight years later the French scholar Achille Jubinal, in his description of the "Danse des Morts" of La Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne, repeated part of Douce's remark, saying that Walter Map was author of a *Lamentatio* resembling the Dances of Death; and Dufour, discussing that general subject in 1874, referred to the same passage. No examination of the texts described by Douce seems, however, to have been made; the article on French literature in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 841, again refers to Douce and his two manuscripts, but in passing only; and Künstle, in his valuable study of the Dances of Death and their source, alludes to the second of these poems as by Walter Map and as still unprinted.

The two Latin texts mentioned by Douce are printed below.<sup>1</sup> The first and briefer of these, which I shall for convenience term the *Vado mori*, is from the manuscript Lansdowne 397 of the British Museum; it is a transcript of the first half of the fifteenth century, made by John Wessington, prior of Durham, owner of the volume; the copy gives no clue as to authorship. In this poem a prologue of six lines, written in interlacing rime, is followed by twelve distichs, each beginning and ending with the words "Vado mori," and spoken by twelve different personages of graduated rank, from Pope

<sup>1</sup> I make my print from photographs; the manuscripts I have not examined. In *Studi Medievali* III, 514 (April, 1910), is a note preliminary to this print.

to pauper. Of this poem another text exists, in the Amplonian library at Erfurt; it is printed from the manuscript by Schum, in his catalogue of the library, p. 41, and was briefly commented upon by Carlo Pascal in the *Studi Medicevali*, II, 559. It is again printed, more correctly, by W. Fehse in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XLII, 277 (October, 1910). Another copy also, in the Bibliothèque Mazarin at Paris, No. 980, is mentioned but not printed by E. Male, *Revue des deux mondes*, XXXII, 658.

The longer text is found in MS Brit. Mus. Royal 8 B vi, a miscellaneous volume containing among other a copy of Petrarch's version of the Griselda-story and several Latin debate-poems. The hand of the scribe may be as late as the seventeenth century. Another hand, certainly of that period, has written above the text the title "Incipit Lamentacio et deploracio pro morte et consilium de viuere deo." This version we may accordingly call the *Lamentatio*; no author is mentioned. Its text, while obviously based on the *Vado mori*, which it incorporates, has been expanded. Not only is the exordium now of sixteen lines, and the number of personages increased from twelve to nineteen, but a distich of response by some person unnamed, beginning and ending each time with the words "Vive deo," has been inserted after each "Vado mori" distich. The scribe has written below the last couplet his "Explicit," so that the allusion of Künstle to Map's concluding description of a vision in which three lords are confronted by three dead men can bear no reference to this text; and as yet no other copy of this *Lamentatio* has been made known. Künstle's note asserts the existence of the poem in English manuscripts of the fourteenth century, without further particulars. The point would be of great interest in the literary development of the Death-motive.

The connection of Map's name with either poem is of the most shadowy and unfounded nature; the surmise of Douce, based as he plainly says only upon the presence in the manuscript of other work apparently by Map, was but a surmise.

#### THE VADO MORI

Dum mortem meditor crescit michi causa doloris  
Nam cunctis horis mors venit ecce citor

LATIN TEXTS OF THE DANCE OF DEATH

	3
Pauperis et regis communis lex moriendi Dat causam flendi si bene scripta legis Gustato pomo nullus transit sine morte Heu missera sorte labitur omnis homo	4
Vado mori papa qui iussu regna subegi Mors michi regna tulit eccine vado mori	8
Vado mori rex sum quid honor quid gloria regum Est via mors hominis regia vado mori	
Vado mori presul cleri populique lucerna Qui fueram validus langueo vado mori	12
Vado mori miles victor certamine belli Mortem non didici vincere vado mori	
Vado mori monachus mundi moriturus amoris Vt moriatur amor hic michi vado mori	16
Vado mori legista fui defensor egenis Causidicus causas descio vado mori	
Vado mori logicus aliis concludere noui Conclusit breuiter mors michi vado mori	20
Vado mori medicus medicamine non redimendus Quicquid agat medici pocio vado mori	
Vado mori sapiens michi nil sapientia prodest Me reddit fatuum / mors fera vado mori	24
Vado mori diues vt quid michi copia rerum Dum mortem nequeat pellere vado mori	
Vado mori cultor collegi farris aceruos Quos ego pro vili computo vado mori	28
Vado mori pauper quem pauper Christus amauit Hunc sequar euitans omnia vado mori	

Variants of the Erfurt text, as printed by Fehse, *op. cit.*, are: L. 1 reads *cogito* instead of *meditor*. L. 2 opens with *Iam*, closes with *cito*. L. 9 ends *regni* instead of *regum*. L. 18 reads *resero* instead of the *descio* here written. In l. 19 the speaker is termed *laycus* instead of *logicus*. L. 25 reads *ad quid* instead of *vt quid*.

Four couplets of this poem, those of Rex, Miles, Medicus, and Logicus, are prefixed to a copy of "Earth upon Earth" in the manuscript Balliol College Oxford 354, printed by Flügel in *Anglia* 26, 217-19; and in that same poem, copied about 1500, there is an allusion to Lydgate's "Dance of Death"<sup>1</sup> as painted in Pardon Churchyard, St. Paul's. The poet says—

Yf ye list of the trewth to se a playn figure  
Go to seynt powlis & se ther the portrawtour.

There is also a French poem of sixty six-line stanzas, "Le Mirouer de Monde,"<sup>2</sup> in which a series of personages speak their farewells to life; each stanza begins and closes "Je vois (vais?) mourir," just as these Latin couplets begin and close "Vado mori."

The interdependence of most of the existing Death-dances and their nearly allied forms cannot, indeed, be doubted; and this adds to the complexity of the problem which they present. We have upon the one hand some half-score of poems, French, German, and Spanish, dating mainly within the first half of the fifteenth century; in all of these the processional and dialogue-character is similar, and most of them were accompanied by paintings in which one or many skeletons urged on their unwilling victims. The Paris text of 1424 and its frescoes, on the walls of SS. Innocents, struck the eye of Lydgate, and his translation, with a series of pictures, was painted in St. Paul's cloister at the expense of John Carpenter, town clerk of London and sometime friend of Whittington. The same French verses, expanded and more elaborately illustrated, were frequently printed in France from 1485 on, and the line of painters of Death continues until Dürer and Holbein.

On the other hand we have, earlier than the fifteenth century, scattered representations of Warnings or Triumphs of Death, in which there is no processional character and no attempt at representing all classes of humanity. Frequently the painting shows a group of dead confronting a group of the living, as in the widely

<sup>1</sup> This text, with introduction, will soon appear.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the appendix to Méon, *Vers sur la Mort*, Paris, 1835; some stanzas are printed by Varnhagen, *Zeitschrift für roman. Philologie*, I, 548, from a fourteenth-century manuscript. I have a copy of Brit. Mus. Add. 29986, a fourteenth-century text.

popular idea of the "Three Living and Three Dead," which was common in France earlier than the first Death-procession of which record has survived, perhaps earlier than any Death-procession. In this representation the latest investigator of the Death-dances<sup>1</sup> would find their source.

The texts here printed have, however, not yet been considered as links in the history of the Death-motive in mediaeval literature. The *Vado mori*, of which the Erfurt text is dated in the fourteenth century, is suggestive because of its processional character; and the *Lamentatio*, in which the *Vado mori* text is developed to dialogue, is yet more closely allied, as Douce said, with the typical Dance of Death verses. And it is of a character which may awaken again the desire to treat the Dances of Death as a mimetic genus, to ally them with drama as well as with art.

## THE LAMENTATIO

Dum mortem recolo: crescit mihi causa doloris	
Nam cunctis horis: mors venit ecce cito	
Mors genus omne terit. <sup>2</sup> sequitur sed vita futura	
Celica futura; nunc sibi finis erit	4
Equa lege capit: mors magnos atque pusillos	
Nunc hos nunc illos precipitando rapit	
Contendunt vario: sibi mors et vita duello	
Illa suo bello. <sup>2</sup> separat; ista pio suo	8
Pauperis et regis: communis lex moriendi	
Dat eam flendi. <sup>2</sup> si bene scripta legis	
Mors vitam resecat sternit pro tempore fortem	
Sed tandem mortem, vita probata necat	12
Gustato pomo. <sup>2</sup> nullus transit sine morte	
Heu misera sorte. <sup>2</sup> labitur omnis homo	
Ad certamen eo. <sup>2</sup> litis lis certat amori	
Dicis vado mori, consulo viue deo	16
Vado mori papa qui iussu regna subegi	
Mors mihi regna tulit: heccine vado mori	
Viue deo papa: nunc mamona sit dea pape	
Desine papa dee: viuere: viue deo	20

<sup>1</sup> Karl Künstle, *Die Legende der drei Lebenden und der drei Toten* und der Totentanz, Freiburg, 1908.



- Vado mori rex sum: *qui(d) honor quid gloria regni*  
 Est via mors hominis:⁹ regia vado mori  
 Viue deo per quem:⁹ rex es . re nunc adorna  
 Rex rege, rex deus est . rex ho(mo): viue deo 24
- Vado mori presul:⁹ cleri populique lucerna  
 Qui fueram validus:⁹ langueo vado mori  
 Viue deo presul; cuius vice stas in honore  
 forma gregi datus est: sta: bene, viue deo 28
- Vado mori miles:⁹ belli certamine victor  
 Mortem non didici: vincere vado mori  
 Viue deo miles:⁹ pacem patriamque tuere  
 forcior in fidei:⁹ robore . viue deo 32
- Vado mori monachus:⁹ mundi moriturus amori  
 Vt moriatur amor:⁹ dic mihi: vado mori  
 Viue deo monache: quodque aueris ipse memento  
 Christo commoriens:⁹ in cruce viue deo 36
- Vado mori:⁹ legista fui, defensor egenis  
 Causidicus causas:⁹ desero vado mori  
 Viue deo: legista dei; lex vera probatur  
 Ne te lex perdat:⁹ perdita . viue deo 40
- Vado mori rethor: placitans florente relatu  
 Muneribus letor: langueo vado mori  
 Viue deo rethor:⁹ iustas sustolle querelas  
 Munera que cecant:⁹ respue, viue deo 44
- Vado mori populo:⁹ verbum vite reserare  
 Qui solitus fueram:⁹ langueo vado mori  
 Viue deo doctor:⁹ qui virtutes docuisti  
 Cuncta que peccata:⁹ spernere: viue deo 48
- Vado mori logicus:⁹ aliis concludere noui  
 Conclisit breuiter:⁹ mors vado mori  
 Viue deo logice:⁹ premissas fac tibi vite  
 Ne conclusa tibi:⁹ sit via: viue deo 52
- Vado mori medicus: medicamine non redimendus  
 Quicquid agant medici:⁹ reppuo vado mori  
 Viue deo medice: fallax est ars medicine  
 Est medicina deus:⁹ optima viue deo 56

LATIN TEXTS OF THE DANCE OF DEATH

7

Vado mori cantor.<sup>2</sup> *frangens notulas modulando*  
In lacrimas muto; cantica: vado mori  
Viue deo Cantor.<sup>2</sup> *sit vox bene consona laudi*  
Et mens concordet.<sup>2</sup> *sit bene viue deo* 60

Vado mori sapiens.<sup>2</sup> *mihi nil sapientia prodest*  
Me reddit fatuum.<sup>2</sup> *mors fera, vado mori*  
Viue deo sapiens.<sup>2</sup> *qui sursum sunt sapiendo*  
Desipit hic mundus : tu sape . viue deo 64

Vado mori diues.<sup>2</sup> *ad quid mihi copia rerum*  
Cum mortem nequeant: pelleri vado mori  
Viue deo diues.<sup>2</sup> *opibus simul et pietate*  
Pauper eget: fer opem . da tua . viue deo 68

Vado mori Cultor: *collegi ferris aceruos*  
Quos ego *pro vili.*<sup>2</sup> *deputo . vado mori*  
Viue deo Cultor: *manus vtiliter colat agrum*  
Religione dei.<sup>2</sup> *mens pia . viue deo* 72

Vado mori . *burgensis eram . sensum cumulaui*  
Omnia mors adimit: *impia . vado mori*  
Viue deo: *seu burgensis: seu Ciuis in vrbe*  
Vt sis viua dei.<sup>2</sup> *mansio . viue deo* 76

Vado mori nauta: *fluctus fulcans remigando*  
Mors proram perimit.<sup>2</sup> *naufraga, vado mori*  
Viue deo nauta.<sup>2</sup> *que multos obruit vnda*  
fforsan erit subita.<sup>2</sup> *mors tua: viue deo* 80

Vado mori . *pincerna fui . potum michi fellis*  
Hora proponandi . *vltima vado mori*  
Viue deo pincerna . *dei sunt pocula vina*  
ffons viuus deus est.<sup>2</sup> *hunc bibe . viue deo* 84

Vado mori pauper.<sup>2</sup> *pro Christo: cuncta relinquens*  
Hunc sequar . *euitans omnia . vado mori*  
Viue deo pauper: *tam re quam mente beata*  
Nil vt heus . *et heus omnia . viue deo* 88

Vado mori . *pietate potens benefactor egenis*  
Hanc mors non resecat.<sup>2</sup> *hac duce . vado mori*  
Viue deo carus: *rapiaris in eius amorem*  
Tota fer in donum.<sup>2</sup> *viscera . viue deo* 92

Nulli mors partis:<sup>2</sup> concludens singula fine  
 Omnia transibu(n)t:<sup>2</sup> preter amare deum  
 Viue deo . bene viuis ei; si viuis amori  
 Non potes ante deum:<sup>2</sup> viuere preter eum

96

*Explicit*

This poem is written in double columns, on folio 30, *a* and *b*, of the manuscript; the two lines of each couplet are connected at their inner ends by a brace, and the "Viue deo" is in each case written in the right-hand column parallel to its corresponding "Vado mori"; between them the scribe has written the name of the personage. He marks the last two distichs "Conclusio" and the two just preceding with an abbreviated word which is apparently "Elemosynarius." It should be added that many of these markings are in the hand which prefixed to the poem its title. At the foot of the last left-hand column are appended two "Vado mori" distichs, marked as possible substitutes for those of Rethor and Nauta; they are:

Vado mori placitor: hundredis et comitatu  
 Tmria<sup>1</sup> et fortitudo nunc deficiu(n)t: languo vado mori

Vado mori nauta fluctus qui fulco marinos  
 Naufragor . aufertur . anchora vado mori.

100

An analysis of either the meter or the Latinity of this composition would take the student far afield. On the second point the crudities of the author are often painful; but it is noticeable that wherever the two poems agree, wherever the *Lamentatio* reproduces the earlier *Vado mori*, it moves more safely than in its added portions. The worst puzzles of the text<sup>2</sup> are in the "Viue deo" couplets, and in these couplets also the attempt at amplifying the *Vado mori*'s play with word-stems and with alliteration has occasionally resulted in barbarism. Comparing the *Vado mori* text, in its two copies Erfurt and Lansdowne, with that text as imbedded in the *Lamentatio*, we find the *Lamentatio* resembling Lansdowne in its reading of l. 49, Erfurt in its reading of l. 65, perhaps of l. 38. Much more numerous are its own variants: in l. 1 *recolo* spoils the rime-scheme; in l. 10 *eam* is miswritten for *causam*; in l. 21 *qui* appears instead of *quid*; in l. 21 *regni* instead of *regum*; in l. 34 *dic* instead of *hic*;

<sup>1</sup> This word reads thus in the manuscript, with no mark of contraction; it was perhaps intended for *Temperancia*.

<sup>2</sup> I have to thank my friend Dr. Edith Rickert for help upon these texts.

in l. 54 *agant* and *reppuo* (for *respuo*?) instead of *agat* and *pocio*; in l. 66 *cum* instead of *dum*; in l. 69 *ferris* instead of *farris*; in l. 70 *deputo* instead of *computo*. L. 85 is materially changed, and the word-order of l. 29 is altered. Twice the sign for an omitted nasal has been forgotten (94, 98), and twice the stroke above a letter is dragged into a misleading curve.

These slips, however, do not present so much difficulty as do a few passages in the text. In ll. 24 and 92 I have expanded the contractions *ho* and *do<sup>m</sup>* to *homo* and *donum*; in l. 28 the scribe has written *sta* with line over *a*, and I have made no expansion to *sancta*, as the text is evidently corrupt in this line. The same is probably true of ll. 63 and 64; and in l. 82 *proponandi* should evidently read *propinandi*. In l. 35 one might desire to read either *muneris Christi* or *vulneris Christi*, but the manuscript shows an apparent running-together of *a* and *v*—*avneris*.

Whatever the shortcomings of scribe or poet, however, the value of the two works in the history of literature is not thereby affected. Were it possible to date the *Lamentatio*, to discover how far anterior to the seventeenth century its production lies, to place it earlier than the Death-dances of 1400–50, its text would become of the utmost importance to students of the subject. For in this poem, as compared with the *Vado mori*, the dialogue-form appears. It is noticeable that in the dialogue here the human actor speaks first each time; and the voice which replies is not necessarily that of Death, but perhaps of some ecclesiastic looking from his pulpit upon the passing figures. We are reminded, indeed, that this, according to Male,<sup>1</sup> was the earliest form of the Dances of Death—an “illustrated” sermon, such as that pseudo-Augustinian sermon from which derived the *Processus Prophetarum* of the miracle-plays. But we must note the formal difference between such a dialogue, composed of farewell speeches followed by anonymous comment, and a dialogue composed of the repeated summons of Death followed by farewell speeches.

Künstle, emphasizing the derivation of the Dances of Death from the legend of the Three Living and Three Dead, bases his argument

<sup>1</sup> *Revue des deux mondes* (1906), XXXII, 647–79. Compare Bolte in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XVII, 41.

on the assumption that one of the two, Dance or Legend, must be derived from the other. He points out that the Legend is much earlier than all known Dances, and is found in the same countries and under the same conditions. He then asserts that it is not correct to see in the Dance-representations Death leading the living; rather have we the dead as monitors. For the processional treatment of the motive he would suggest an explanation from architectural conditions; in a wall-painting the two groups of three, the Living and the Dead, were necessarily broken up into three pairs, and this sequence of couples was then continued to fill the remaining wall-spaces. Thus grew up the procession of the Dead leading all classes of the living, erroneously termed the Dance of Death.

But if we were to deny the theoretic foundation of all this, the necessity of deriving either motive, Dance or Legend, from the other; if we preferred to regard the two as allied but independent expressions of the mediaeval Death-fascination, we should not be without evidence. A full demonstration is impossible until the dialogues between Man and Death have been gathered, until the history of tapestry-poems has been written, until the procession-motive of the Middle Ages, which Künstle minimizes, has been discussed. As example of the first, take the poem preserved in the manuscript Harley 7333, of the fifteenth century. Here Man addresses Death in 36 rimed lines beginning:

Quis es tu quem video / hic / stare in figura  
In horribili visu turpissima statura  
In tuo toto corpore est macies obscura  
Me tua dispositio perterrint in pura. . . .

And Death replies in 36 lines beginning:

Ego sum quem metuit omnis creatura  
Timent me preterita / presencia et futura. . . .

Were we possessed of the entire mass of death-dialogues written in the latter Middle Ages, we might argue more conclusively the question whether in the Dances it is Death himself or the dead counterpart of each victim who addresses the reluctant mortals.

The existing Dance-texts give us no certain evidence, and the pictures, with their frequent repetition of the skeleton as escort to the human figure, further confuse the discussion. In the Legend of the Three Living and Three Dead the case is clear; but the attempt to bring this clearness into the Dances of Death by the simple process of asserting their derivation from the Legend is not possible in view of the *Vado mori*. The *Vado mori* lies back of what is after all the distinguishing character of the Dances—their processional form; and it admits of no analogy with the Legend.

The text of the *Lamentatio* has no figure of Death, and that of the *Vado mori* is still simpler. The latter could be, so far as its form is concerned, the text of either a tapestry or of a dumbshow with a single "recitator," between which two types the external difference was very slight. Its brief couplets adapt its text especially to tapestry, although in later tapestry-poems, such as those of Lydgate,<sup>1</sup> the seven- or eight-line stanza is freely used; his *Life of Saint George* and his *Bycorne and Chichevache* are almost as wordy as his didactic productions. Even between the developed drama and tapestry a relation could exist; the French *Condamnacion de Banquet*,<sup>2</sup> supposedly of about the year 1500, contains the same characters and story as are found in the tapestry of Nancy, once the property of Charles the Bold (died 1477), and described in a letter<sup>3</sup> to him, before its purchase, by a subject of the duke's sojourning in Vienna.

Many impulses were at work in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—so many, that it is not yet possible to disentangle them and say: Here, at this point, arose the Dance of Death. One mental habit of the Middle Ages expressed itself in lists and classifications; another and more widespread, the fondness for contrast and for argument, expressed itself in debates—of Body and Soul, of Wine and Water, of the Owl and the Nightingale, of the Ivy and the Holly, etc. And upon each of these larger tendencies the immediate Death-interest of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could find a point of attachment. Wherever a list was connected with the

<sup>1</sup> These will shortly appear.

<sup>2</sup> See Fournier, *Théâtre français avant la Renaissance* (2d ed.), 216 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Jubinal, *Tapisseries à Personnages* (1840), 52 ff.

idea of death, one step was taken, and the *Vado mori* resulted; when such a list became a dialogue, the *Lamentatio* took form; when in this dialogue Death (or the Dead) became the interlocutor, the Dance of Death appeared. But whether the list or the debate or the figure of Death were the fertilizing idea in the final union, what the exact relationship may be between two such mediaeval products as the Dance and the Legend of the Living and Dead, we have not yet sufficient evidence to decide.

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## PROBLEMS OF AUTHORSHIP IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMATIC LITERATURE

The ground for the present discussion has to be cleared first by a determination of the period, and secondly, by a determination of what is to be reckoned as drama. As to the former, the closing of the theaters in September, 1642, affords a clear and definite end-date; but the beginning-date is not so easily settled. To go back to the production of our first known play would not only needlessly extend the period, but would leave us with a somewhat uncertain date to start from. Moreover the date would be liable to be pushed back by the discovery of some yet older drama, and even then there would be no guarantee that that play had not had a predecessor. To begin so far back would also mean the inclusion of a mass of literature not characterized by what we consider "Elizabethan" qualities. If there be objections to taking as our starting-point the probable date of production of the earliest known drama, there is even less to be said in favor of the usual course of taking the date of Elizabeth's accession to the throne. It is true that her name is usually given to the literature of the period, though it extended far beyond the limits of her reign, but the mere fact of her accession had little or no bearing on the dramatic art, and the literature with which her name is associated cannot be said to have come into being till many years later. If, because the literature is styled Elizabethan, we date it from 1558, we ought to end it at 1603. A better commencement-date is 1574, when the first royal patent for a company of players was granted, or 1576, when the first regular theater was built; but, if we want the closest possible dates including all of real literary and dramatic value in the theatrical work of the time, from the presentation of the first of Lyly's plays in or about 1579 to the production of Shirley's *Cardinal* in 1641, a better beginning-date than either is 1578, in which year was published Whetstone's forecast of the lines on which the great dramatists were to achieve their mighty work—the work of which Whetstone himself was inca-

pable. Whether by reason of its closeness to Lyly's arrival upon the scene or from the point of view of literary and dramatic development, this seems to be the best starting-point to be found. Let us then begin the period with the work of a critic who wrote drama not meant for the stage and close it with the annihilating legislation of those who hated it and were determined to end it.

Next I must state as briefly as possible what species of the literary work of the period I have regarded as coming within the scope of my consideration. I have had no hesitation in including every original English work intended for the stage if it has action and a plot, and even such as have a mere thread of story connecting a lot of scattered incidents, as is the case in *Four Plays in One* or the three "Parnassus" plays. On the other hand I have had no hesitation in omitting all those pseudo-dramatic pieces that are mere conglomerations of separate scenes, such as *The Parliament of Bees*, or again those that are only dialogues for perusal, as is Rowlands' *'Tis Merry When Gossips Meet*. But between these certain "ins" and certain "outs" there is an equal number of classes of more or less dramatic work concerning which opinions may well vary. With some hesitation I have decided to disregard dialogues for representation (such as *The Muses' Looking-Glass*, *Aristippus*, *Summer's Last Will*, *The World Tost at Tennis*, and *Spring's Glory*) and also that other species of quasi-dramatic production that forms a mere setting for a dance in which the audience may take part—a class that includes every so-called masque except Milton's *Comus*, Shirley's *Triumph of Beauty*, and Nabbes' *Microcosmus*, which have regular plots and are not really masques at all. A play such as Peele's *Arraignment*, having a regular plot in which a member of the audience has a place, is only semi-dramatic; and so too are compositions that differ from plays only in not being intended for the stage; but both of these classes I have included. On these lines, and taking stock only of plays in English (wherever acted or published), excluding translations (but not adaptations) by such as have to their credit no extant play at least partly original, including no literal prose translations whatever, and, where there is a doubt as to whether or not a play comes within the prescribed period, following the probabilities, but omitting no play in which they are evenly balanced, we

have 599 or 600 dramatic and semi-dramatic works to deal with, my doubt as to the exact number being due to my ignorance whether or not *Demetrius and Marsina* is extant. I may add that I have not excluded any play because in its first form it certainly or probably dates back to a time anterior to 1578, so long as it is clear that some portion of the work falls within the period specified.

A word as to my object. It is not to attempt the settlement of questions of authorship, but to state what those questions are, and to classify them according to the value of the external evidence. Of the internal evidence I take no account except in one or two special cases, and my own views are not obtruded. There will thus be found in the following pages little that is original, but the writer hopes that what he has to say will prove helpful to others who may be tempted to enter the field of inquiry on which he has himself ventured twice or thrice and may aid them in a selection from amongst the problems that await solution. There are many plays of the period commonly treated as of assured authorship though their ascription to this or that dramatist rests on evidence of but little value. To direct attention to these may perhaps lead to fruitful investigations by students with time and inclination for such pursuits.

## I

The first problem of authorship that calls aloud to the student is that of the altogether anonymous plays—the plays that have never been connected with the name of any dramatist on any sixteenth- or seventeenth-century evidence. They are not very numerous, amounting to only 49 in all (or 50, if *Demetrius and Marsina* be extant). Some of these are not worth bothering about, and some I have not seen, but there are a few that either from their intrinsic merits or from the place they occupy in the history of the development of the drama are entitled to attention. *Cyrus*, *Jack Straw*, *Leir*, *The True Tragedy*, and *Love and Fortune* are early plays that are very reasonably supposed to be joint works of our first generation of dramatists. *A Warning* and *A 'Larum* have been credited to Lodge, perhaps rightly, though the reasons for the attribution amount to little more than guesswork. Of the authorship of the non-Shakspearean *Richard II*, *Swetnam*, *London Chanticleers*, and

*Knack to Know an Honest Man* no opinion, so far as I am aware, has been expressed; while the views propounded concerning *Dick of Devonshire*, *Stukeley*, *Wily Beguiled*, and *Charlemagne* do not seem to have met with general acceptance. Professor Quinn has pointed out the likeness of *The Fair Maid of Bristow* to various other plays, without, however, making any suggestion as to the authorship; and finally the German editor of *The Queen* has ascribed that tragi-comedy to Forde. Of these plays, the early *Love and Fortune*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Leir*, *Cyrus*, and *Jack Straw*, the middle-period *Warning*, *'Larum*, *Wily*, and *Stukeley*, the later *Dick* and *Swetnam*, and the still later *Queen* are the ones particularly recommendable for study. Every one of them is worth it—one or two of them on their merits, others for their connection with other plays, their early date, or the probabilities of their being joint works, with the chances of one or other of the great writers being concerned in their production. The determination of the authorship of even the least important of them is a matter of some consequence; but not even the most important has so strong a claim to the attention of the student as some of those yet to be mentioned. Before proceeding, however, it may be well to name the remaining plays of this class, some of which I have not seen, and as to the merits of which I am therefore entirely ignorant. They are *Antonio of Ragusa*, *Belleosa* (perhaps of later date), *Birth of Hercules*, *Caesar's Revenge*, *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, *Costly Whore*, *Cruel War*, *Cyprian Conqueror* (perhaps later than 1642), *Diana's Grove*, *Edmund Ironside* (perhaps of later date), *Fatal Marriage* (ditto), *Female Rebellion*, *Ghost*, *Grobiana's Nuptials* (perhaps later than 1642), *Love's Change-lings* (ditto), *Love's Victory*, *Lady Alimony*, *Liberality and Prodigality* (perhaps of earlier date), *Narcissus*, *Nobody*, *Partial Law*, *Pedlar's Prophecy* (attributed to Wilson senior, because of its likeness to that dramatist's *Cobbler's Prophecy*), *Pelopidarum Secunda* (the MS of which in the British Museum is plentifully sprinkled with the date October 16, 1725, though the contents of the volume in which it appears are in a sixteenth-century hand and include Donne's *Satires*), *Señor Hidalgo*, *Sight and Search* (perhaps of later date), *Tell Tale*, *Timon*, *Trial of Chivalry* (as to the authorship of which there has been more than one unconvincing guess), *Two*

*Noble Ladies*, *Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (which Mr. Fleay has ascribed without much reason to Mundy), *Welsh Ambassador*, *Wit of a Woman*, and *Wizard*.

## II

There is another class of anonymous play—that concerning the authorship of which there is no direct evidence, but with which there is more or less good reason to connect some particular dramatist or dramatists. Of these, *Histriomastix* may be inferred to be Marston's inasmuch as it contains many of the words which Jonson in the *Poetaster* accused Crispinus of using, Crispinus being shown to be intended for Marston by his acknowledgment of the authorship of passages from *Antonio and Mellida* and *Jack Drum's Entertainment*. The play seems to me to be only in part Marston's, there being perhaps two other writers present. *Dr. Dodipoll* is connected with the name of Peele by the fact that a song in it is found in Drummond's extracts from Peele's *Hunting of Cupid*; but, whereas the inference in the case of *Histriomastix* is exceedingly strong, that which would attribute to Peele any share in *Dr. Dodipoll* is particularly weak. *The General* bears the name of a play for which Shirley wrote a prologue, but even if it be identifiable with that production it does not follow that Shirley was the author. In his capacity as manager of the Dublin theater at which it was produced, he may well have been called on to introduce it to the public with a few lines. *The Famous Victories* contains an amount of clowning that Mr. Fleay is probably right in attributing to Tarlton, inasmuch as that comedian played the clown in it and is known to have been an improviser of clowning scenes. *Pathomachia* may be supposed to be Tomkins', inasmuch as it is not only written on the same plan as that author's *Lingua*, but in its first scene has "Methinks it were fit now to renew the claim to our old title of affections which we have lost, as sometimes Madame Lingua did to the title of a sense." It is quite compatible with this allusion to look upon the author of the play as a mere imitator of Tomkins, but the two are more likely to have been identical. *The Lady Mother* contains many phrases common to Glapthorne, and has been plausibly conjectured to be the play that was entered in the Stationers' Register as his under the title of *Noble Trial*. Of these six plays the one whose authorship

most calls for determination is *Dr. Dodipoll*, because of the occasional poetry that illumines its general dullness; but *Pathomachia* and *The Lady Mother* may also be recommended, and so may the three other plays of the class that have yet to be considered.

*Barnaveld* is universally recognized on grounds of style to be the work of Fletcher and Massinger; their part authorship might in fact have been surmised from the circumstances that they were the regular poets of the King's Company, by whom this play was produced, and that about the same time they collaborated with Field in another Dutch play now lost. It is not a strong inference, but the evidence of style seems to be tolerably conclusive. *Soliman* is commonly awarded to Kyd; but the only ground for the ascription, save similarity of style, phraseology, and construction, is the identity of its story with that of the play within the play of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. Finally, there is *Sir Thomas More*, which Mr. Fleay awards to Lodge, on the ground that that writer acted the part of Suresby in it, but which has also been claimed in part for Shakspeare as having been acted by the Chamberlain's Company and tinkered by the company's poet, who was certainly no other than Shakspeare. This drama is particularly worthy of attention, for, though scarcely a great play, it has some magnificent passages. It may be worth while to point out to prospective students of it the number of short lines either beginning or ending speeches in scenes 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 17; the frequent doublings (reminiscent of *Titus*) in scenes 2, 5, 7a (Dyce, pp. 24-29), 14c (from servant's entry), 16; the couplets separated by short lines in scenes 11, 12; the habit of addressing characters by their full names in scenes 3, 6; the quotations from Seneca in scenes 12, 14; the fondness for "A' God's name!" in scenes 13, 15, 17, and the first part of 18; the likeness of 7a to the manner of Shakspeare; the difference between the run of the verse in 10b (Dyce, pp. 53-68) and that of the verse elsewhere; and, finally, the spelling in 10b. The play is probably of composite authorship, and these matters have a direct bearing on the work of determining the responsibility for its various scenes.

### III

There is another set of plays that is practically anonymous, the evidence for their authorship being almost worthless. *The Double*



*Falsehood* was published in 1728 by Theobald as Shakspeare's, "revised and adapted to the stage" by Theobald himself! He may have had some old MS bearing Shakspeare's name; but, again, he may not. Grosart attributes it, I know not on what grounds, to Shadwell. If his, it is of too late a date for inclusion here: indeed, we have only Theobald's word for it that it belongs to the period under review. *Philotus* is possibly, but improbably, identical with the drama of that name written by Lateware. *The Puritan*, published in Shakspeare's lifetime as by "W. S," was included in the third folio of his works, having previously been attributed to him by Kirkman and Archer, but the two cataloguers were presumably misled by the initials on the 1607 quarto. The fact that the play was produced by Paul's children is almost conclusive against Shakspeare's authorship. The writer, judging by the initials, may have been Wentworth Smith; but the critics favor Middleton and Rowley. There remain of this class half a dozen plays depending for their ascription to various authors entirely upon the attributions of one or other of the old cataloguers; so it is well before going farther to consider precisely what is the value to be attached to their entries.

There are three of them in all; and of the three it is Kirkman who counts for most, and rightly so. Putting aside those late plays in regard to which he must be held to be a first-class authority, his attributions (and the same may be said of the others') may be divided into three classes—those in which he followed the ascriptions on the title-pages, those in which he varied from such ascriptions, and those in which he provided names of authors for anonymous plays. Of these three classes, the entries belonging to the first do not matter, those of the second are as likely to be blunders as corrections of errors, and those of the third have a considerable value in some cases, the presumption being where the name of an author many years dead and not in high repute is given that there existed some copy with his name upon it. Kirkman never mentions any author in connection with Fletcher, never names Beaumont, and only on sixteen occasions ascribes a play to more than a single author, Rowley figuring in ten of these, Webster in five, Middleton in five, and Dekker in four. Archer never names more than a single author till his list has progressed to initial L, but thenceforward he makes an



exception in the case of Beaumont and Fletcher, the only two plays subsequently given wholly to Fletcher being really entirely his, whereas he alone has been mentioned for the joint plays in the early part of the list. Although the catalogue appears at the end of a play ascribed on the title-page to three writers it gives that play to one of the three only; therefore it is certain that the attributions are not meant to be regarded as complete. Rogers and Leys (spoken of henceforth as "R. and L.") once have "Beament Flet." to a play and on nine occasions "B.F." for the same pair of writers; in no other case is more than a single authorship hinted at. These facts are worth bearing in mind.

Langbaine essayed to be more than the compiler of a catalogue, and he undoubtedly took pains to be accurate, but it is to be noted that he never throws light on dark places, that he follows Kirkman almost invariably, and that he seems to consider an attribution on a title-page decisive. That being so, he need not be mentioned here more than occasionally.

All three of the cataloguers make a few glaring mistakes. Some are typographical, whereof no notice need be taken, and some are anachronistic, such as Kirkman's ascription of *The Fleire* to Marmion (which, however, may be due to the repetition of the name by a printer's blunder). These too may be ignored; but there remain a few that, while not impossible so far as date is concerned, are so convincingly contradicted as to be regarded indubitably as blunders. In some of these cases the cataloguers followed the title-pages of the old quartos: those in which they did not do so may as well be mentioned here and now. Kirkman gives *Apollo Shroving* to "E.W." (because it was "E.W." who gave that play to the press, though it is he who is our sufficient authority for its authorship by Hawkins); *Arraignment of Paris* to Shakspeare; *Duchess of Suffolk* and the two *Robin Hood* plays to Heywood; *Princess* to Sir. W. Killigrew; *Three Lords*, in his later list, to "W. R." (he has "R.W." in his earlier one); and *Arthur* to Trotte. Archer awards *The Arraignment of Paris*, *Hoffman*, and *A Trick* to Shakspeare; *Cynthia's Revenge* to one John Swallow (the cataloguer being misled probably, like a later critic, by F. C.'s commendatory verse referring to one swallow making a summer, the plain interpretation of which is merely that

an author may gain a reputation with a single play); *Duchess of Suffolk* to Heywood; *Faithful Shepherdess* to John Dymocke (the result of confusion with Dymocke's *Faithful Shepherd*); the two *Iron Age* plays to Dekker; *Noble Stranger* to Machin; *Octavia* to Thomas (instead of Samuel) Brandon, and the two *Passionate Lover* plays to "Lodowick Loyd" instead of Ludowick Carlell. R. and L. give *Bondman* twice, once rightly to Massinger, and the second time to Fletcher; *All's Lost* to Massinger; *Cynthia's Revels* to Fountaine (an amusing blunder); *False One* to Beaumont, and *Noble Stranger* and *Sophy* to Shirley. To make the list complete I may as well add the anachronistic blunders: Kirkman—*Selimus* to Goffe (his interpretation of the initials "T. G." on the quarto); Archer—*Lost Lady*, *New Inn*, and *Love's Cruelty* (owing to confusion with *Love's Cure*, which he also calls "Love's Cruelty") to Beaumont and Fletcher; *Selimus* to Goffe; the two early versions of the second and third parts of *Henry VI* to Sampson, and the second entry of *Love's Labor's Lost* (the first being given to Shakspeare) to Sampson; R. and L.—*Unfortunate Lovers* to Beaumont and Fletcher. Archer is also unquestionably wrong in part in attributing to Beaumont as well as Fletcher the *Little French Lawyer*, *Lovers' Progress*, *Loyal Subject*, *Sea-Voyage*, *Spanish Curate*, *Wild-Goose Chase*, *Wife for a Month*, and *Woman's Prize*; and R. and L. err similarly in regard to *Island Princess*, *M. Thomas*, and *Pilgrim*.

But, it will be urged, there are many other mistakes made in all these catalogues. Doubtless; but in the other cases we only *infer* them to be mistakes, principally by the internal evidence of the plays themselves; we do not *know* them to be errors, as we do those named here. Every one of these will be mentioned when its time comes.

In regard to the half-dozen plays I am about to speak of, the ascriptions of the cataloguers are negligible because every one of them is to be accounted for by a confusion of ideas or by the proximity in the list of some other play attributed to the same author. Thus *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools* is given by Kirkman to Chapman, owing evidently to the similarity of its title to that of Chapman's *All Fools*. Similarly, Archer gives *Every Woman in Her Humor* to Jonson, the author of *Every Man in His Humor*; both Archer and R. and L. give *The Taming of a Shrew* to Shakspeare

(though, as neither of them names *The Shrew*, the ascription may be in point of fact intended for Shakspeare's play); and *The Maid's Metamorphosis* is given by Kirkman and Archer to Lyly, the author of *Love's Metamorphosis*. *Edward III* is flanked on each side by a (blundering) Shakspeare entry in R. and L.'s list, and is given to Shakspeare accordingly; and Archer names Bernard, the translator, as the author of *Arden*, the result probably of the propinquity of Bernard's *Andrea*. *Arden's* claim to rank among even the Shakspeare apocrypha is on external evidence absolutely *nil*; nor is it his on the internal evidence. Mr. Fleay long ago proclaimed Kyd's authorship, and Mr. Crawford has since made out a strong case for it; but while I also, working independently, came to the conclusion that Kyd was concerned in it, I was equally convinced of Marlowe's presence, and not at all certain that these two had it to themselves. Parts of the play are full of Marlowe parallels, although Mr. Bullen, who, as an editor of Marlowe, might have been supposed to be reasonably acquainted with his work, declared that the entire play offered but one. "With mighty furrows in his stormy brows" he thinks might have come straight out of *Tamburlaine* (one could quote half a dozen such lines from different sources); "but," he adds, "in no other part of the play can we find a trace of Marlowe's influence." It is amazing that he could have missed the numerous instances in which lines occurring in Marlowe's plays are found in *Arden*. As one of the finest and most effective tragedies of the period, there is scarcely any Elizabethan play more recommendable than *Arden* to anyone wishing to consider questions of authorship; but he must first steep himself in Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, and their contemporaries. It has been suggested that the play may be a recast of the *Murderous Michael* of 1578; but, as Michael is far from being either the most important or the most murderous character in the drama, the suggestion does not seem very plausible. It is more likely that the real name of the early play was *Murderous Machiavel*. Of *Edward III* and *A Shrew* it is also most desirable that the authorship should be ascertained. Though the external evidence of Shakspeare's participation in either is of the slightest, I personally am a believer in his responsibility for Acts I and II of *Edward III*, from the meeting of the king and the countess onward

(with the exception of the first seven speeches of II, 2) and parts of III, 3 and 5 and IV, 4; but most of the critics who admit his presence confine it to the king and countess scenes. Anyway, all the rest of the play is still wanting an author or authors. There may be some basis for the attribution of *Maid's Metamorphosis* to Lyly, for it contains many resemblances to his work. The critics generally have inclined to accept a theory of Day's authorship.

## IV

Leaving this class, of which *The Puritan*, *Maid's Metamorphosis*, *Arden*, *Edward III*, and *Taming of a Shrew* are the ones offering particular inducements to study, we turn to that class of plays concerning which we have a choice of authors, without any ascription rising above probability. This is a species of which the scope may prove to be smaller than that of those previously dealt with, inasmuch as the student's first endeavor would naturally be to see whether either of the named authors was concerned in the production, and only on finding that parts of the play could not thus be accounted for would the inquiry need to assume broader proportions. Two plays connected with Shakspeare's name appear in this list, the one being *The Merry Devil*, which Kirkman and Archer ascribe to him and which was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1653 as his, but on a MS of which Drayton's name is said to have appeared; and the other *Pericles*, which was published in 1609 as Shakspeare's but to which Wilkins seems to put in a claim. There can be no doubt, on the internal evidence, of Shakspeare's part-authorship of the latter play; but it is well to remember that so far as the external evidence is concerned it is in no better case than *London Prodigal* or *Yorkshire Tragedy*. All three were published as Shakspeare's during his lifetime, all were included in the third folio, and not one of them was included in the first; yet those good people who pooh-pooh the examination of plays with a view to determining questions of authorship do not hesitate to accept *Pericles* as entitled to a place in the Shakspeare canon, and to deny places to the other two. It is a curious fact that both Shakspeare and Wilkins are connected with two of these three plays—*Pericles* and *Yorkshire Tragedy*. But this is a digression; for the latter, like *London Prodigal*, must be dealt

with later. As to *The Merry Devil*, Drayton's authorship is by no means improbable, and those who will may infer from the resemblances between it and Shakspeare's Falstaff trilogy some connection between Shakspeare and this comedy or between Drayton and the other plays. That it has not come down to us in its original form is abundantly obvious, but to me at least the play seems the work of one man, and that one is presumably Drayton.

In 1647 was published *The Country Girl* as by "T. B." Kirkman interprets this Anthony Brewer; Archer, Thomas Brewer. The British Museum catalogue attributes it to the former; but Thomas Brewer is much the likelier. He wrote over the initials attached to this play, and issued a prose tract on the "Merry Devil of Edmonton"; so as the scene of part of *The Country Girl* is also Edmonton, his authorship of the play would have seemed probable, even had Archer not credited him with it. His work was evidently done early, and an examination of the play has convinced me that Massinger revised it, his share being parts of I, 1, the greater part of I, 2 (excluding the Old Gentleman's first speech), II, 1 (to "Enter 6 Country Wenches," the earlier part of it to "Exit Thrash" containing, however, matter not his), II, 2, parts of III, 1, IV, 1 (which is corrupt and perhaps of mixed authorship), the first 8 speeches of IV, 2, parts (perhaps all) of V, 1, and parts of V, 2, the rest of the play being the original author's. This is nothing more than a personal view, mentioned only to induce careful examination of the play by others with more time for the purpose and better qualifications for the work. Massinger's touch is very distinct and is clearly ascertainable from a study of the sixteen dramas published as his, of which *A Very Woman* is the only one that an examination does not show to be entirely his work.

*The Bastard* was published in 1652 with Goffe's name on some copies, but is attributed by Archer (and also by Coxeter) to Manuche, its right to inclusion here, if that ascription be correct, being very doubtful. *Guy of Warwick*, published in 1661 as by B. J. and perhaps identical with the play of the same name entered in the Stationers' Register as by Day and Dekker in 1619-20, does not call for much remark. Langbaine was told it was by Jonson, but doubted it. *Alphonsus of Germany*, published in 1654 as by Chapman, is

given by Kirkman to Peele, and there may be some good reason for the attribution. The MS from which it was printed may have borne the initials "G. P.," misread "G. C." I do not see that much is to be made of the argument that Chapman (or, for the matter of that, Peele) has nowhere else shown such knowledge of German as is displayed in this play: the answer is that a show of such knowledge would in the other plays of either author have been out of place. *Fortune by Land and Sea* was published in 1655 as by Heywood and Rowley, but it must not be overlooked that in 1637-38 there was entered in the Stationers' Register, as by Henry Shirley, "Martyr'd Souldier, with the Life and Death of Purser Clinton." *The Martyr'd Souldier* has nothing to do with Purser and Clinton, but this play has. Two plays must then have been entered together. Fleay accordingly assigns the Purser and Clinton scenes of *Fortune* to Henry Shirley. It seems to me probable that the ascription to Heywood and Rowley is due to a misreading of "Heywood Shirley" on the MS as "Heywood & Rowley."

In November, 1653, was entered in the Stationers' Register as by Glapthorne a play published the next year as Chapman's. This is *Revenge for Honor*. In the Register it is given a double title, the other being "The Parricide." There was a play of that name licensed for the Prince's Company in 1624. If this be identifiable with the existing play, Glapthorne can have been nothing more than a reviser, for 1624 is far too early a date for him. The prologue speaks of a single author. Is it possible that "Chapman" can be a misreading of "Glapthorn"? If so, it is well to bear in mind that there was a George as well as a Henry of that name, and "George Glapthorn" might easily be misread "George Chapman." That the "a" should be taken for "or" in the writing of the period would be easy enough. It is however, quite possible for "Henrye" to be so written as to be mistaken for "George." The known writers for the Prince's Company in 1624 are a Barnes (of whom nothing is known to have survived), Sampson, Brome, Forde, and Dekker.

Finally, there is the play which, for want of a title, is known as *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. This is contained in a MS on the back of which is said to be observable the name of William—afterward altered to Thomas—Gough. (I could not, for my own part,



see the former name.) Chapman's name was substituted for that of Gough, and later (very much later) this in turn was scratched out to make way for Shakspeare's. Thomas Goffe was nineteen in 1611 when the play was licensed, and so the strongest claim, on the external evidence, is Chapman's, especially as his name was evidently on the MS when Warburton credited the play to him. Shakspeare's name had displaced Chapman's before Oldys' time, but late enough not to bother us. It has been suggested, however, that this play is to be identified with *The Tyrant*, which (according to *Biographia Dramatica*) was sold among Warburton's books in November, 1759. If so, Warburton must have been mistaken in declaring that that play was among the ones destroyed by his deplorable cook. It is in favor of this view that a tyrant is the principal figure in the play, and that he is known only as "The Tyrant." On the other hand *The Tyrant* was not only entered separately by Warburton, but was also entered by Moseley in the Stationers' Register in 1660 as Massinger's, while this play (called by him *Maid's Tragedy, 2nd Part*, as if it were a continuation of Beaumont and Fletcher's play) was entered in 1653 without any author's name. Though Fleay is opposed to the idea of Middleton's authorship, I believe this *Second Maiden's Tragedy* to be the work of that dramatist, though there may also be a second writer (perhaps the author of *The Revenger's Tragedy*). The play is worthy of a minute examination; and so, among the other plays of this section, are *Alphonsus of Germany*, *Merry Devil*, *Pericles*, *Fortune*, *Country Girl*, and *Revenge for Honor*.

## V

Next to be considered are plays with ascriptions not quite negligible, but unworthy of acceptance in the absence of confirmation. Some of these concern Shakspeare. To him (absurdly enough) is given by Archer the first part of *Jeronimo*, the authorship of which play is to seek, for there are strong reasons against the assumption that it was by Kyd, who wrote *The Spanish Tragedy* (which also Archer credits to Shakspeare). Not only does *Jeronimo* contradict the *Tragedy*, but the run of the verse is totally unlike Kyd's. *Locrine*, published in 1595 as corrected by W. S. (most likely Shakspeare, though possibly Sly), was not included in the first folio, but found its



way into the third folio, and subsequently was credited to Shakspeare in Kirkman's second list (in his first, he had given it to "W. S."). This play has received much attention; and excellent reasons have been shown for giving it to first one and then another of the fathers of our drama, but it remains still unattached, the most convincing argument being Mr. Gaud's on behalf of Peele; but the fact must not be overlooked that it contains two hints of Shakspeare: Hector is slain by the Myrmidons, as in *Troilus*; and Brutus, *alias* Posthumus, is the husband of Innogen, as in *Cymbeline*. It has been plausibly suggested that Shakspeare edited the play for the dying Peele, its author; but I think that in that case Peele's name would have appeared on the title-page. In all probability it was a composite work. *Mucedorus* (to be spoken of later), *Fair Em*, and *The Merry Devil* (already dealt with) were all bound together in Charles II's library in a volume labeled with Shakspeare's name; but this is *Fair Em*'s only claim to be considered the work of the great dramatist. *Bloody Banquet* was published in 1620 as by "T. D.," and modern editors are inclined to interpret these initials as standing for Drue. Why not for Dekker? Archer gives it to "Thos Barker"; and, as in the same list Dekker's *Match Me in London* and *Fortunatus* are both credited to "Thomas Barker," while elsewhere "Darker" is used, it is evident that "Barker" is merely a misreading of "Dekker." That writer is, anyhow, the only dramatist to whom external evidence, however slight, attributes the play. Similarly *The Careless Shepherdess*, published in 1656 as by "T. G.," is ascribed by Kirkman to Goffe. Of this class the ones claiming attention are *Em*, *Lochrine*, and *Jeronimo*. Some may suppose that *The Queen*, previously mentioned, should have been included in this class by reason of Archer's apparent ascription of it to Fletcher; but this is probably only a blunder, due mainly to the use of the word "Queen" as a heading. Three successive entries are *Queen*, *Queen of Corinth*, and *Queen of Her Sex*, and only the first-named is given an author. As the subtitle of *The Queen* is "The Excellency of Her Sex," the problem of Archer's meaning is apparently solved. The entries should run:

Queen		
"	of Corinth	Fletcher
"	of Her Sex	—

It may be, however, that the ascription of *The Queen* to Fletcher results from the mention of Fletcher's name in the commendatory verse by "R. C."

## VI

The next class consists of a couple of plays of alleged joint authorship, the attribution of each being in part probable and in part of very little value. These are *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Birth of Merlin*. And here it may be as well to point out that there are at least three, perhaps as many as five, dramatists whose names were of such weight as to induce unscrupulous publishers to use them fraudulently long after the writers themselves had passed away. Beaumont's name was of value in after-years only when joined with Fletcher's, and Marlowe's only for a part of the time; but the names of Shakspeare and Jonson and Fletcher made a constant appeal. Hence the attribution of *Birth of Merlin* to Shakspeare and Rowley forty-six years after the death of the former and probably about a quarter of a century after the latter had ceased to write may be held to be very weak evidence in favor of Shakspeare but to constitute a strong probability in the case of Rowley, not because the one lived much nearer to Kirkman's own times than the other, but because in 1662 Rowley's name was of no weight, while Shakspeare's was, and because, therefore, we cannot imagine Rowley's being attached to the play otherwise than in good faith, while Shakspeare's may have been used with intention to defraud. In all cases of publications dating subsequent to the outbreak of the Revolution we may assume that the names of the lesser-known dramatists were cited because they were found on the MSS from which the quartos were published, because the publishers remembered the authorship, or because someone vouched for it. One cannot take these ascriptions as conclusive only because one does not know what was the evidence by which the publishers were guided. In the case of *The Birth of Merlin*, if that play date from the middle nineties, as seems probable, it is likely that in its original form it was not Rowley's. The connection of this play with Middleton's *Mayor of Quinborough* is not to be overlooked.

The other play (which, like *The Birth of Merlin*, will well repay study) was entered in the Stationers' Register and published in 1634

as by Fletcher and Shakspeare, named in publishers' advertisements of 1653, 1654, and 1661 as by Beaumont and Fletcher, and published in the 1679 folio of the works of those dramatists, but is also found bound with eleven undoubted Shakspearean plays. Though the attribution to the greatest of dramatists is not worth much, it is not necessarily wrong; but the evidence in favor of Fletcher is certainly the stronger of the two. The mere fact of its being listed as Beaumont and Fletcher's after being published as Fletcher and Shakspeare's gives an air of probability to the ascription to Fletcher and casts a doubt on the correctness of the use of Shakspeare's name.

## VII

The next class is a long one, for it consists of those plays in regard to which the evidence must be regarded as probably correct but still lacking certainty. Among these are plays which were published anonymously, but to which one or more of the cataloguers have attached the names of various authors for no reason that may be guessed except information from supposedly reliable sources or the authority of old MS attributions. There is no reason why in some cases this evidence should be considered ample and in others be disregarded: in reality they are all on the one footing, and must each stand or fall by the internal evidence.

Kirkman gives *Blurt* and *Phoenix* to Middleton, and the two parts of *Edward IV* and *Fair Maid of the Exchange* to Heywood; while he and Archer both give *The Family of Love* and *Michaelmas Term* to Middleton, *Revenger's Tragedy* to Tourneur, and *Mucedorus* to Shakspeare. Of these attributions the only ones rejected by the critics are those of *Mucedorus* and *Fair Maid of the Exchange*, but to me the quiet acceptance of Tourneur's authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy* is strange.

This play differs so entirely from *The Atheist's Tragedy*, which is unquestionably Tourneur's (and on the internal evidence can be given to no one else), that I cannot conceive of the two as being by the one author. To accept Tourneur as the writer of *The Revenger's Tragedy* we have to suppose that he alone of the Elizabethan dramatists did not develop but absolutely revolutionized his manner of writing. That the author of this tragedy was not a one-play drama-

tist may be inferred by his mastery of his medium, but I know of no one among the named writers of the time to whom I would attribute it, unless it be Middleton, to whose verse alone the swing of the verse of *The Revenger's Tragedy* makes some approximation. The student may compare it with *Women, Beware Women*, which internal evidence shows to be wholly Middleton's, and which exhibits his style in tragedy. I prefer, however, to consider *The Revenger's Tragedy* as the greatest work of its period of that prolific writer "Anon," and look upon the establishment of the identity of the author as one of the chief problems to be tackled by students of Elizabethan drama.

The authorship of *Edward IV* is an interesting question. Heywood's claim is anything but strong; but the claim of Shakspeare, to whom R. and L. give it, is weaker still, inasmuch as the play was performed by Lord Derby's Company. If Mr. Greg be right in supposing *Henry Richmond*, Part 2, for which Robert Wilson, Jr., was paid £8 in November, 1599, to have been a sequel, it is likely that Wilson was author or part author of *Edward IV*; but the ground for Mr. Greg's supposition is not very firm.

*Mucedorus*, according to Malone, was by Greene, but Fleay favors Lodge's authorship because "Musedor" equals "Muse of Gold," and "Golde" was Lodge's anagrammatized pen-name. As for *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*, its ascription to Heywood was doubted by Langbaine "since his name is not prefixt, neither does the style or economy resemble the rest of his labors." Mr. Fleay thinks it Machin's.

To the same class belong five plays published under authors' initials, the full names being supplied rightly or wrongly by the catalogue-compilers. Two of these are *A Trick* and *A Mad World*, both published as by "T. M." and given by Kirkman to Middleton. As both these comedies were acted by Paul's children the ascription is probably correct. Archer anticipated Kirkman in the attribution of *A Mad World*, but the other play he credited to Shakspeare, though a study of it shows Kirkman to be right. The "G. C." of *Humorous Day's Mirth*, the "W. R." of *Match at Midnight*, and the "W. S." of *Cromwell* are interpreted by both Archer and Kirkman as indicating Chapman, Rowley, and Shakspeare respectively, and

in each case the name of the acting company adds reason to the attribution. *Cromwell* found its way into the third Shakspeare folio; but, though it was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's men, its "W. S." need not have been Shakspeare. Printed in 1613, it was acted before 1603. Wentworth Smith is not known to have been connected with the Lord Chamberlain's company; and Sly, who belonged to it, is not known to have engaged in dramatic composition. We need scarcely doubt that the initials were meant, whether fraudulently or honestly, for Shakspeare. Perhaps, though written by some hack, *Cromwell* was produced under his name. Like this play, *Match at Midnight* is worth examination. It is certainly an alteration; and it has been surmised that the original author was Middleton. It is probably the play licensed as *Match or no Match* for the Fortune in 1624 as by "Mr. Rowley," but in its first form it was much earlier. *Humorous Day's Mirth* may be believed to be Chapman's, because his hand may be traced and the comedy contains nothing not possibly his. The attribution to him is the more readily acceptable after a study of *The Blind Beggar* and *Gentleman Usher*, of which the former is obviously by one writer, whom the style here and there shows to be Chapman, wretched as the verse is for him, while the latter, a twice-written play, shows the contrast between the early Chapman, as seen here, and the late Chapman, as seen in *M. d'Olive* (also entirely his).

As regards all five of the plays just dealt with, the value of the attributions by the cataloguers is not easy to gauge: they may be blunders, they may be the outcome of actual knowledge or of more or less reliable information, or they may be the result of a guess-work interpretation of the initials under which the plays were published; but in any case there is no reason to call in question their good faith. In three of the five cases the attributions are accepted by the critics, and in a fourth it is accepted in part.

Others of this class are plays published after the closing of the theaters and then attributed to some or other of the lesser men no longer living—meaning by "lesser" here, as elsewhere, not those of less merit, but those of less fame. These are *Old Law* (rightly ascribed to Massinger, Middleton, and Rowley), *Thracian Wonder*, *Virgin Widow*, *Witch of Edmonton*, *Thierry and Theodoret* (published in 1648 as by Fletcher, and the next year as by Beaumont and Fletcher,

and ascribed by Archer to the two poets, jointly), *Lust's Dominion* (printed in 1657 as by Marlowe, but containing matter based on a pamphlet issued after his death, and probably identical in its present form with the *Spanish Moor's Tragedy* of Dekker, Haughton, and Day, though the acceptance of the theory of their authorship does not necessarily exclude the idea of the original authorship of Marlowe), *Anything for a Quiet Life*, *Appius and Virginia* (the contrast between the classical restraint of this play and the fiery romance of Webster's undoubted work making it especially worthy of close study), *Cure for a Cuckold*, *Mayor of Quinborough* (printed in 1661 as by Middleton, but containing a passage that cannot possibly be Middleton's, and must have been written after the closing of the theaters), *More Dissemblers* and *No Wit* (both of which are clearly rightly attributed to Middleton), and *Old Couple*. *Cure for a Cuckold* was published in 1661 as by Webster and Rowley, and the statement in the publishers' address that "many persons remember the acting" adds to the probability of the good faith of the ascription. Webster's touch is not very obvious in this play, and I do not feel absolutely certain of his being concerned in it. At first I thought I saw Massinger's hand with Rowley's in the two scenes of Act I and was much inclined to see Middleton instead of Rowley in III, 1, and the part of IV, 2 preceding Bonvile's entry, and in part of I, 2. I mention this because Mr. Fleay at first gave Act I to Massinger and the rest of the play to Rowley, and afterward substituted Middleton for Massinger. On further examination, however, I came to the conclusion that neither Massinger nor Middleton was concerned in the play, and that Webster must be accepted as part author. Rochfort's story and the story of Compass are wholly Rowley's, while the Clare part is Rowley's, rewritten by Webster: at least, that is my view. *The Mayor of Quinborough* is vouched for in its preface as "the first flight" of the author, and this might make the correctness of the attribution to Middleton more probable were it identifiable with the *Vortiger* first produced by the Admiral's men in 1596. In an extant MS, however, it is called *Hengist*, which was the name of an old play revised by the Admiral's men in 1597. If this be it, Middleton can be no more than a reviser, and an older writer's work may be looked for.



In the same category come a few dramas published prior to the closing of the theaters but subsequent to the decease of their reputed authors. These are *The Antiquary*, *Chaste Maid*, *Edward II* (which R. and L. give to Shakspeare, but Kirkman to Marlowe—rightly, as is shown by a study of the play), *Faustus*, *Martyr'd Soldier*, and *A Shoemaker a Gentleman* (published as by "W. R.," shown by the Stationers' Register entry to be Rowley). The two quartos of *Faustus* offer an interesting problem. The 1604 edition was entered in the Stationers' Register in January 1600-1, and so is not likely to contain the additions made by Bird and Samuel Rowley in 1602. It does, however, contain matter that must date from a time subsequent to Marlowe's decease—matter omitted, by the way, from the edition of 1616, which contains lines imitated in *The Taming of a Shrew* (printed 1594). In the later edition there is, however, other matter dating later than Marlowe. Originally the play was by a single author, as shown by the "Auctor" at the end. I believe that in the earlier quarto all the serious parts are Marlowe's, and the rest partly Marlowe's and partly the work of a reviser, and that in the later quarto there is also a third hand observable. An intelligent endeavor to distinguish between the genuine and the spurious portions of the play—a task not accomplished by merely subtracting the clowning portions, some of which are probably Marlowe's own—would be very welcome.

There are a few other plays in the same class. *Faithful Friends* was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1660 as by Beaumont and Fletcher, and the MS also bears their names. The fact that it was not included in the second folio of their works does not necessarily mean anything. Nor does the exclusion of *London Prodigal* and *Yorkshire Tragedy* from the first Shakspeare folio really imply that those plays are not Shakspeare's. The latter, which is attributed to him in the Stationers' Register, is, as has been shown by Mr. Fleay and Mr. Dobell, strangely connected with Wilkins' *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, and Mr. Dobell makes out a good case for that dramatist's authorship, while both regard it as constituting the original tragic ending of *The Miseries*, which was originally a tragedy, as is shown by the Stationers' Register entry of July, 1607, where it is so described. There are, however, difficulties in the way of the

acceptance of these ideas, such as the fact that the 1608 quarto of *Yorkshire Tragedy* describes it as "All's One or One of the Four Plays in one called a Yorkshire Tragedy." *The Miseries* certainly deals with Calverley's life and needs the *Tragedy* for its completion, though in the latter the characters are without names, while in the former they have false names. But on the other hand it is to be noted that in scene 2 of the *Tragedy* the husband speaks of having chosen a wife (whereas according to *The Miseries* she was forced on him), that his guardian is still alive, and that in scene 1 the husband has been married long enough to have two or three children before Clare (if the young mistress spoken of be indeed she) hears of it, and that this scene has no connection with the story of Calverley's wife that forms the plot of the play. As for *London Prodigal*, Mr. Fleay showed the most excellent reasons for believing it to be a satirical sketch dealing with an incident in the career of Greene, only to (apparently) abandon the idea when he found the play to be of later date.

The two parts of *The Troublesome Reign* were issued during Shakspeare's lifetime as by "W. Sh." and in 1622 with his name in full, but found their way into no Shakspeare folio, probably because the collection already contained a *King John*. The quartos' ascriptions may have been due to fraud or (though less probably) to confusion with Shakspeare's play. That he used these two plays is undeniable: that they are to the slightest extent his is highly improbable.

*Sir Clyomon*, which may date from before our period, has a MS ascription to Peele of which the genuineness may be questioned. If this be a modern forgery, the place of the play should be among the strictly anonymous, if it be included at all.

*Andromana*, which was published in 1660 as by "J. S." and was attributed in a prologue at a revival to Shirley, need not detain us; nor does *Club Law*, of which Hawkins (who presumably had some authority for his statement) in 1741 declared Ruggle to have been the author, make any great demands upon our consideration. *The Inconstant Lady*, entered in the Stationers' Register in September, 1653, as by Arthur Wilson, is also of no great importance; but the authorship of *Nero* is a matter of moment. It is attributed to Massinger in an old hand and is said to be found bound with his



plays. It however shows no trace of that writer. It was transferred from one publisher to another with two of May's works, but its style shows no resemblance to that of May.

*George-a-Greene* is another play worthy of attention. It is almost invariably treated as Greene's because of a MS note to which the very gravest suspicion ought to attach. I feel so certain that this note is a modern forgery that I would treat the play among those to whom no one's name is attached by the external evidence but for one circumstance—its place in the Cockpit list. In this list the plays are grouped according to authors, and *George-a-Greene* appears between Forde's plays and Heywood's. It is out of the question that it can be Forde's, and as it dates from prior to December, 1593, it would be very early for Heywood; but it was not printed till 1599, and as it stands may be a recasting by Heywood of the work of an earlier writer. Perhaps, however, Heywood's revision may have been much later in date, not applying at all to the extant version. It may be as well to add that it is unlikely that the play is put in this position in the Cockpit list as the single work of another author, because the "singletons" stand alone at the end of the list.

Another play, *Case is Altered*, is in this group for another reason. It did not appear among Jonson's collected works, and when it was published in 1609 his name appeared on some copies only. It may have been added to the later copies because the authorship had been ascertained, or it may have been removed after appearing in the earlier ones, because it had been found to be incorrect, because Jonson objected, or for some other reason. The case is essentially one for internal evidence; and this has made the critics unanimously accept the comedy as Jonson's. Was it entirely his? Concerning *Arcadia* there is a slight doubt, because, though published in 1640 as by Shirley, it does not appear in the list of his published plays which Shirley issued in 1652, while *Ajax*, published anonymously in 1640 and as Shirley's in 1659, was also omitted. Probably the omission of each is due to an oversight. *Look about You* was published anonymously in 1600-1, but the promise made at the close of the play by one of the characters, the Earl of Gloster, to fire the Saracens out of Portugal connects it with Wadeson, who wrote for

the Admiral's (the company which produced *Look about You*) a play called *The Humorous Earl of Gloster and His Conquest of Portingal*, acted in 1601, whence it may be inferred that Wadeson was in part at least the author of this work also.

It is doubtful whether *The Twins* should belong to this group or to the class to be dealt with later in which are comprised plays of attributions presumably complete. That depends upon the time when its author flourished. It need not detain us. The two *Tamburlaine* plays are always given to Marlowe, but the evidence for the ascription is not of the strongest. The printer's address to the 1592 edition states that both are the work of one writer, but it does not give his name. Harvey in 1593 calls Marlowe "Tamburlaine," but that does not necessarily mean that Marlowe wrote the plays. It is just as reasonable to regard the statement of 1604 regarding Nashe, that the spiders "went stealing over his head as if they had been conning of Tamburlaine," as proof of Nashe's authorship. Langbaine says, "Had I not Mr. Heywood's word for it . . . I should not believe this play to be Marlowe's." Presumably he is referring to Heywood's prologue to Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, which he misread. Kirkman, after leaving the authorship blank in his earlier list, filled in Marlowe's name in the later, the presumption being that he had in the meantime obtained information in regard to it which he considered reliable; but that was about three-quarters of a century after Marlowe's death.

In a MS volume labeled "Geo. Wilde's Plays: Miscell. Poems" is found *The Converted Robber*. The other contents are *Love's Hospital* (with an ascription to George Wilde), a Latin play by the same writer, and a number of poems by various authors. It is probably by Wilde, and may be in the handwriting of the author.

There is one other play to be spoken of in this class, the extraordinary *Two Tragedies*. This play contains two separate stories most loosely woven together, if they can be said to be woven together at all. The subject of the one is Merry's murder of Beech; the other's is that of the old nursery tale of *The Babes in the Wood*. In the latter part of 1599 Houghton and Day handed over to Henslowe for the Admiral's men a "Tragedy of Merry" (licensed January 1599-1600). About the same time Chettle received 10s. from

Henslowe on behalf of the same company in earnest of an "Orphan's Tragedy," while in January 1599-1600 Day was paid £2 in advance on an "Italian Tragedy of —," which Mr. Greg identifies with this "Orphan's Tragedy," on which apparently Chettle was still at work in September, 1601. In that year was published "Two Lamentable Tragedies. The one of the murther of Master Beech . . . done by Thomas Merry. The other of a Young Childe murdered in a wood by Two Ruffins, with the consent of his Unckle. By Rob. Yarrington." Who was Rob. Yarrington? With the exception of Mr. Fleay, who looked upon the name as an assumed one, the critics have all treated him as a single-play writer; but quite recently Mr. Greg has seen reason to regard him as the mere transcriber of the play, who put his name at the end of the MS, whence it found its way to the title-page of the quarto. For myself, I have long been of opinion that the name is a misreading of Wm. Haughton (that is to say, Haughton).

Of the numerous plays of this class the student may be particularly recommended to study the two *Tamburlaine* plays, the two *John* plays, *Edward II*, *Faustus*, *Lust's Dominion*, *George-a-Greene*, *Case Is Altered*, *Yorkshire Tragedy*, the two parts of *Edward IV*, *Look about You*, *Match at Midnight*, *London Prodigal*, *Cromwell*, *Mucedorus*, *Two Tragedies*, *Faithful Friends*, *Thierry*, *Fair Maid of the Exchange*, *Revenger's Tragedy*, *Nero*, *Appius*, *Cure for a Cuckold*, and *Thracian Wonder*.

### VIII

Closely connected with both the fatherless plays already dealt with and those of doubtful parentage just considered are those whose begetters' names are masked under initials not connected by sixteenth- or seventeenth-century evidence with the names of any particular dramatists, initials which may or may not be correctly given and which in any case may not indicate full authorship. Such are *Old Wives' Tale*, by G. P., always attributed to Peele and in all probability his, though the initials are also those of Puttenham (who, however, had been dead five years when the play was put into print); *Alphonsus of Aragon*, published in 1599 as by R. G., and always ascribed for this very inconclusive reason to Greene, who died in 1592; *The Three Ladies* and its amplification, *The Three Lords*,

whose "R. W." is supposed to be the elder Wilson, but may possibly be Wilmot; *Petronius Maximus*, by W. S., possibly Sampson, possibly, but very improbably, Wentworth (or William) Smith, most likely some unknown man; and *Valiant Scot*, which has Webster's initials, but may be by the publisher Waterson. I put *The Lanching of the May* here because I know not on what grounds it is attributed to Methold. Its "W. M.," might stand as well for Montague, though Methold, by reason of his connection with the East India Co., is the likelier. If there be good reason for the ascription to him, the play should rank in a much later category than this.

Of these plays *Alphonsus* and *Old Wives' Tale* are particularly worthy of study because of the probability of their authorship by two of the founders of our drama, but to assume Greene's responsibility for the former, as is generally done, is unwarranted. Kirkman gives it to "R. C." This might be thought to be a printer's error, were it not for the fact that Langbaine does the same thing. The question arises, has he followed Kirkman, or was there an "R. C." edition? If so, Greene's claim, not too strong in any case, becomes very weak. Personally I think it surprising that the ascription to him has remained unquestioned, because the differences between the style of this play and that of his undoubted dramatic work are very marked. *Friar Bacon*, for instance, I take on both the external and the internal evidence to be wholly his: if *Alphonsus* is to be regarded as by the same writer, he must be considered to have greatly developed subsequently to his writing of it, for it does not show even the germs of his future excellence.

There are three other plays in this section, all published by "R. D." in 1662 in one volume with commendatory verses by "Theatro-Philos," who congratulates "his worthy friend Mr. R. F. upon his publishing his ternary of English Plays." As this versifier not only credits these plays to R. F. (presumably a misprint for "R.D."), but also seems to say that they were never acted, while R.D. credits them to "three several wits," and one of them at least has clearly been on the stage, it may be that the plays had been revised before publication but never acted in their new shape. That one of the three (*Thorny Abbey*) has been rewritten is very evident. The only known dramatist of the period with initials R.D. who may have been living

as late as 1662 is Davenport. The identity of this publisher and possible editor is not, however, of great consequence.

Of these three plays, one (*Grim*) is printed as by I. T., another (*Thorny Abbey*) as by T. W., and the third (*The Marriage-Broker*) as by M. W. This last-named writer, who is described on the title-page as an M.A., may have been Martin Westcomb (M.A., of Oxford, 1638) or Michael Wigmore (M.A., of Oxford, 1611), who both wrote, though they are not known to have written for the stage. *Thorny Abbey* may be by Thomas Weaver (who in 1654 published *Songs and Poems of Love and Drollery*), Thomas Wharton (a writer of verses, born 1614, ob. 1673), Sir Thomas Wroth (who published in 1620 a translation from Virgil and was also the author of a century of epigrams), Thomas Washbourne (who wrote "divine" poems), or Thomas (Viscount) Wenman (who had Barnabe Barnes as a servant and wrote commendatory verses for Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*). If it be more reasonable to search for the author among those known to have written for the stage, there are to be considered Anthony (that is to say, Tony) Wadeson and Thomas Watson, and the initials fit the latter better than the former. The play shows clearly one writer of early and one of late date, the revision being very thorough. The prelude (with its Fool and its mention of pre-Elizabethan fools) is early, and so is the epilogue, while the prologue is quite late in style. The play proper tells two distinct stories, the first being mentioned in scenes 2 and 6, but being practically wholly contained in scenes 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11, while the other scenes are given up to the second story. In the latter, after scene 11, we have a chorus, with a dumb show of the succeeding events. This must be a relic of the old play; but it is the other plot which shows most archaism in its language. "For to" is frequent; and note also such antiquated tags as "Here by the uncouth cavern of a wall" (scene 3), "ere his eyes Had closed their fleshy windows of their light" (scene 4), "his clamorous cries" (scene 4), "And gone to wander in eternal night, And ransack some Cimmerian feared cave" (scene 9), "let's invoke the powers above For to reveal the horrid murderers" (scene 9), "Waste these life-seeing tapers of mine eyes Till they drop forth the sockets of my skull But I will find the execrable slave," (scene 11) and "hideous, fearful cries" (scene 11). All this reeks of the age

and manner of Kyd. The second story (that of Thorny) has much less of the older writer or writers left, and phrases such as "Words able to infuse an appetite In a cool votarist" smack of Massinger and a period forty or fifty years later than Kyd or Watson. *The Revenger's Tragedy* is palpably imitated, in Thorny's speech on the skull which he holds in his hand:

What swearer sees this mouth and does not tremble?  
Oh, man! how vain art thou that speakest thy labors  
For the bewitching minute of this world,  
And after all thy joys to hell be hurled,

and again in the line in a later scene, where the skull is introduced once more, "This face will not deceive me." (The character of the verse precludes the supposition that these passages were in the early play, and that the author of *The Revenger's Tragedy* saw the possibilities in them and boldly borrowed the ideas and transformed them into some of the most passionate lines in the language.) It may be urged that the other part of the play is later than *Macbeth* inasmuch as that play is palpably imitated, but the imitation may not have been in the original version or may have followed some much earlier version of *Macbeth* than that which is extant.

It is not my object in this paper to put forward views of my own based on considerations of style. If in this case I have to some extent diverged from the path I have set myself, the interest of the subject must be my excuse. *Thorny Abbey* is not a great play—far from it; but the apparent fact of its earliness of date in its original form and the circumstance that the initials of its reputed author are those of Thomas Watson make it well worthy of study, inasmuch as not one of his dramatic productions is known to be extant, and this is, so far as I am aware, the first suggestion yet made that he may be partly responsible for any one of the hundreds of plays of the period which we possess. To judge by this, the loss may not be great; but to judge any writer so would not be just. In fact, Watson's fame as a dramatist was high. He died in 1592. Six years later he was mentioned by Meres as among the best for tragedy (one of the two stories told in *Thorny Abbey*—the one in which the older writer's presence is most obvious—is a tragedy); but a more marked tribute to his merit or his repute is Heywood's mention of



him in his "Hierarchie of Angels" published in 1634 (forty-two years after Watson's death), where he is mentioned (between Kyd and Nashe) with the following poet-dramatists: Greene, Peele, Kyd, Nashe, Beaumont, Shakspeare, Jonson, Fletcher, Webster, Dekker, May, Middleton, Forde. As Heywood was merely showing how the most famous writers had their Christian names familiarly shortened, the omission of the names of Tourneur and Chapman and Peele need excite no remark, for "George" and "Cyril" do not lend themselves to abbreviation; but Heywood seems thus to esteem Watson (and also Nashe—of whose dramatic ability we can form no proper judgment—and May) above Massinger, Marlowe, Shirley, Lyly, Rowley, Day, and Field. The poem says:

He wrote  
Able to make Apollo's self to dote  
Upon his muse.

He was a friend of Lyly and Peele and Kyd, and the last-named did not scruple to lift into his *Spanish Tragedy* an extract from Watson's *Hekatompathia*, slightly altered. After his death, William Cornwallis in his charge against him said he "could devise twenty fictions and knaveries in a play, which was his daily practice and his living." Anyone who wants a quite new field of Elizabethan study might first steep himself in a knowledge of Watson's poetry and then read the dramas (and especially the unattached dramas) of the period prior to the middle of 1592, with an eye to determining his presence. That he had something to do with some of the anonymous plays of that time or with some of Kyd's plays or some of Peele's is not at all unlikely.

While on this subject it may be urged that the value of Heywood's testimony to the greatness of Nashe as well as of Watson can only be judged by the discovery that some anonymous play of the period is wholly or mainly his work; and this too is a task that should commend itself to some of our students; though, as they could lay their foundation for a knowledge of Watson's style only on his poems, so they could for an understanding of Nashe's rely only on his prose tracts, his quasi-dramatic *Summer's Will*, and so much of *Dido* as may be his (in my opinion, I, 2, from Aeneas' entry; I, 3; [?] IV, 1; and IV, 2; the rest being Marlowe's with the exception of II, and



perhaps III, 3, which are joint, while V, 2 may also contain a little of Nashe's work; so that, if my view be correct, there is not very much of Nashe to judge by). As for *Thorny Abbey*, it may be on the whole more probable that the initials on the title-page are those not of the original author, but of the reviser (in which case of course they would not belong to Watson); and the likelihood would be increased if it could be definitely ascertained that the initials given with the other two plays of the "ternary" were those of revisers.

The I. T. (probably meaning J. T.) of the third play of the "ternary" may be Tatham, but if so "J. T." must be the initials not of the original author, but of a reviser, for the play dates back to the time of Elizabeth, when, as internal evidence shows, it was called *The Devil and His Dame*. Fleay ascribes it to Haughton, because Haughton was paid 5s. "in earnest of a book which he would call" by that name for the Admiral's men in 1600; but, as the entry was afterwards canceled, it would seem that the money was refunded. It is possible therefore that the play was never written; or it may have been written and sold to some other company.

Concerning *Old Wives' Tale*, Peele's claim to which must rest almost entirely on the internal evidence, though it is always treated as indubitably his, I have said that it is against Puttenham's claim that he was dead when it was published under his initials. This may be thought inconsistent with my suggestion of Watson in similar circumstances as the original author of *Thorny Abbey*. In reality there is no inconsistency. In the latter case, if R. D. published a play with the initials of an author who had been dead 70 years, it was presumably because he found the initials on the MS and did not know to whom they belonged. In the other case, it should not have been difficult for the publisher to ascertain the authorship of the play, which had been acted not very many years before, and, as Puttenham was dead, there would be no hesitation about printing his name in full. When only initials are given it will usually be found that a play was published by the author or with his sanction, or else that the publisher did not know to whom the initials belonged. If this play could be shown to have been published without Peele's authority I should say that the chances were against its being his; as it is, there is no one else with any serious claim to its authorship.

## IX

The next class comprises plays of which the authors' initials are definitely known, the versions extant being authorized and therefore to be regarded as complete, though the authors' names have absolutely to be guessed at. Of these, the "A. M." of *Two Italian Gentlemen*, which, Langbaine tells us, is in old catalogues ascribed to Thomas Barker, is doubtless Mundy; the "J. D." of *Knave in Grain* may perhaps stand for Day (Denham being unlikely); and the "S. S." of *Honest Lawyer*, which was published in 1616, was perhaps Samuel Sheppard, who ten years previously had been Jonson's amanuensis. The "J. C." of *The Two Merry Milkmaids* may stand either for Joshua (or John) Cooke or for John Cumber, for whom Mr. Fleay claims it. The printer's address implies that the play was given to the press by the author. The address to the reader of *The Valiant Welshman* is clearly by the author, "R. A.," who may have been, but more probably was not, Robert Armin. The "J. S." of *Phillis* may represent Shirley. If not, the play, as a mere translation, should not find a place here. The "E. S." of *Cupid's Whirligig* is generally interpreted as indicating Sharpsham, though Oldys says the play "has been ascribed to Shakspeare." If so, the Shakspeare must have been Edmund. As, however, Sharpsham's *Fleire*, given to the press the year before, was also acted by the Revels' children, the ascription to him is probably correct. In *Scourge for Simony* (generally known as "the second part of *The Return from Parnassus*, though it is not called the second part in the quarto) there is interpolated matter that may not be the author's, though one copy has a dedication by J. D., which serves to show that the edition was an authorized one, especially as the same initials are on the Lansdowne MS. The other two *Parnassus* plays are spoken of in the final play as being by the same author and their MSS may be taken as genuine. The authorship of this trilogy affords a capital subject of investigation; and so too does *Two Italian Gentlemen*, as being one of the earliest dramas of the period (albeit probably not an acting drama). This play has, however, mysteriously disappeared, and I treat it as extant only because of the unlikelihood of its having been destroyed.

## X

The next group consists mainly of so-called "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays. Here we have plays in each of which we have a definite choice of authors, one of whom was certainly concerned, though on the evidence it cannot be said definitely which one. In the case of most of the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays of this class both authors may have participated, and in none of them is there any certainty of the ascription being complete. Though so much attention has been paid to the works of the "twin stars" of our drama there is yet plenty of scope for others. Mr. Fleay was the pioneer in this field; and it is safe to say that had he not shown the way none of his successors (of whom I have been one) would have trodden that path. He remains the most original and the most imaginative, but not the most reliable, of investigators in this field. The first of his followers was Mr. Boyle, whose intolerance of all views running counter to his own must not blind us to the excellence of much of his work. That he is never mistaken is, after all, his misfortune; and even the childish animosity with which he so perseveringly assails those who venture to disagree with him may be charitably set down to the phenomenal degree of importance which he attaches to all technical matters in which he happens to be interested. Such seriousness of aim would be most admirable if it did not run to rancor. Of my own work I need not speak; and of later laborers in this field the most noteworthy is Professor Thorndike, whose chronological conclusions approximate tolerably closely to mine, though these were deemed absurdly revolutionary when I put them forward some twenty years ago.

Of the thirteen Beaumont and Fletcher plays that have to be considered here *The Captain* and *Coxcomb* are Fletcher's according to Archer and Hills, Beaumont's according to R. and L.; the authorship of *Four Plays in One* is Fletcher's according to Archer, and Beaumont and Fletcher's according to R. and L.; *Nice Valor* and *Women Pleased* are joint works if Archer may be believed; regarding *Honest Man's Fortune* there is no evidence save Kirkman's and Gardiner's, both of whom give it to Fletcher; Archer, Lovelace, and R. and L. all give *Valentinian* to Fletcher; and as for *Wit without*

*Money*, it was published in 1639 as a joint work and is so treated by both Archer and R. and L.; while both of these give *Bonduca* to Fletcher. So far as the dates of these can be ascertained, Beaumont is available for every one of them. Concerning the authorship of *Valentinian*, *Women Pleased*, and *Wit without Money* there is virtual agreement; but as to the other half-dozen, all of which are worthy of the student's attention, there is a great variety of opinion. In regard to *Honest Man's Fortune*, by the way, I came to the opinion soon after the appearance of my Beaumont and Fletcher paper that Tourneur was my "unknown author." In 1613 no one else was writing in that style, and if I was at first kept from recognizing his presence it was because of the attribution to him of the altogether different *Revenger's Tragedy*. It will be noticed that Tourneur has here dropped rhyme, which he elsewhere used sparingly, and does not end his speeches with his lines, as he usually does in *The Atheist's Tragedy*. [Since the above was written it has been definitely ascertained that *Bonduca* and *Valentinian* date from not later than 1614, so that in dating them 1612 in my Beaumont and Fletcher paper of some twenty years ago instead of the ordinarily accepted 1616 or 1617 I was clearly on the right track, as also in regard to the possibility of Beaumont being concerned in the authorship of *Bonduca*.]

The four other plays now to be mentioned also call for study. *The Woman-Hater* was published in 1648 as by Fletcher (and the next year as by Beaumont and Fletcher), is stated in the prologue to be the work of a single writer, is given by Davenant to Fletcher, and bears that author's name written on a copy of the anonymous edition of 1607, with Beaumont's name substituted for it later. The external evidence thus declares the comedy to be the product of either Beaumont or Fletcher, but not of both. *Beggars' Bush* is given by Archer and Hills to Fletcher, and by R. and L. to Beaumont, and was in 1661 published in their joint names. It probably dates from a time when it was quite possible for Beaumont to be concerned in its production. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* is given by Archer to Fletcher, but was published in 1635 as by Beaumont and Fletcher. The quarto contains contradictory assertions as to its being by one writer and by more than one. *Love's Cure* raises a very interesting question as to both date and authorship. Ascribed by Archer, and

also by a revival prologue, to Beaumont and Fletcher, it is declared in the epilogue to be the work of a single writer. As to the date, Fleay and Dr. Thorndike have shown excellent reason for attributing it to 1608 or earlier, and I myself surmised a similar period for its first production. All this reasoning and surmise would, however, appear to be heavily discounted by the fact that the play has since been found to be based on a Spanish drama licensed for publication in Valencia only some six months before Fletcher's demise. Accordingly the view has been put forward that neither Beaumont nor Fletcher had a hand in it; but if so, how has it found its way into the folio? And how is the prologue's definite attribution of it to both of them to be accounted for?

The absence of Fletcher may be conceded, the resemblances to his work being slight and unconvincing and the epilogue speaking of a single author; but despite the discovery of the late date of the Spanish play on which this is founded, I cannot abandon my view of Beaumont's participation. The allusion to the Prince of Orange as "Grave Maurice" (giving, as Professor Thorndike points out, a date of not later than 1618) and to the *Miraculous Maid* (1604) are both in portions of the play in which I saw the hand of Beaumont, and if III, 1 be not by Jonson it should be an imitation of him by Beaumont. Is it not possible that Massinger incorporated in his version of the Spanish play some scenes out of an early play by Beaumont? I do not know the Spanish play, or how much of the English comedy is derived from it, and so this suggestion may be utterly opposed to the facts of the case, but I shall be surprised to learn that the Spanish original shows any sign of the humors of Lazarillo (a distinctly Beaumontesque character) or more than a little of the contents of Act III. If it do, I shall not be ashamed to confess myself mistaken.

Not less a suitable subject for investigation is the comedy so absurdly known as *Green's Tu Quoque*, which was published in 1614 as by "Jo. Cooke." A later edition (1622) fills up the name as "John Cooke," and so Archer, Kirkman, and Langbaine, and so also the modern editors; but why should not the "Jo" of the first quarto have stood for "Joshua"? The name Joshua Cooke occurs in a MS note on the title-page of *How to Choose*, and the attribution

to Cooke of such a comparatively uncommon name as Joshua does not seem to me to be likely to be incorrect. It is of course possible that the two plays were by two different men of the name of Cooke, but they are of the one pattern, and with both Heywood had some unexplained connection.

As in this case we have to choose between Joshua and a possible John, so in *The Hector* we have to choose between Wentworth and a possible William Smith. This play was published in 1615 as by "W." Smith, which Langbaine interprets as William Smith, but which is perhaps as likely to have stood for Wentworth. So in *Game at Chess* we have a choice between the known Thomas and a possible Edward Middleton. An entry in the Privy Council Register of August 30, 1624, names the author as Edward Middleton; but a somewhat suspicious and certainly incorrect statement of facts in regard to the circumstances attending the production of the play speaks of Thomas Middleton as the author. There is every likelihood that the Council entry was a mistake.

## XI

We have next to consider plays certainly of joint authorship, with the identity of one author certain and the identity of one doubtful. Of this class also a great majority are Fletcher plays. In *The Custom*, *Little French Lawyer*, and *False One* it is known that Fletcher had a hand, but also that he did not work alone; and, as these plays date from a time subsequent to Beaumont's death, it is reasonable to assume that his colleague was Massinger, who is known to have been concerned with him in the production of many of the plays of the "Beaumont and Fletcher" folio. *Wit at Several Weapons*, ascribed by Archer to Beaumont and Fletcher, is stated by a revival epilogue to have been only partly by Fletcher, and is worth study. *Lovers' Progress*, also given by Archer to the two friends, appears in the folio of 1647 and must be identical with Fletcher's *Wandering Lovers*, licensed December 6, 1623, for the King's men, by whom *Lovers' Progress* was acted. The prologue and epilogue declare it to be an alteration of Fletcher by another dramatist; and as, on September 9, 1653, Moseley entered in the Stationers' Register a *Wandering Lovers* by Massinger, it may be that that dramatist

was the reviser of Fletcher's play, though, as it had already appeared in the folio as altered by Massinger, it is hard to see why Moseley should enter it. It may be pointed out also that the sub-title of this play, according to Moseley, was "The Painter" and that no painter appears in *Lovers' Progress*; but it was Moseley's trick to get two plays entered for the one fee, *The Bashful Lover* and *Alexius, Very Woman* and *Woman's Plot, Believe as You List* and *The Judge* being separate plays so entered. The internal evidence, however, makes it quite clear that the alterer of Fletcher's play was Massinger. *Noble Gentleman* was licensed for the stage shortly after the death of Fletcher, but is credited by both Archer and R. and L. not only to him but also to Beaumont. The prologue tells us it is the work of more than one writer, and the interesting question arises whether the play was not a very early one found among Fletcher's papers after his death. For this reason it is worthy of attention. It is unfortunate that Malone does not tell us clearly whether or no Herbert names Fletcher as the author of this play, *The Prophetess*, *Sea Voyage*, *Spanish Curate*, *Wife for a Month*, *Rule a Wife*, and *Fair Maid of the Inn*.

Especially worthy of consideration is *The Spanish Tragedy*, which in its earlier form may be ranked among plays of which the authorship is known, the ascription being not merely correct but presumably complete, though I am by no means sure on grounds of style that some other (perhaps Watson, from whom there is some free borrowing) had not a hand in it; but in its later form it has to be dealt with here because the additions are uncertainly connected with the name of Jonson. Whether or no these additions are those known to have been made by him is a very interesting problem. The external evidence is strong in favor of the view that they are; and this view is supported by the fact that these additions are apparently parodied in the scene between Balurdo and the painter in Marston's *Antonio*. There are two other plays in this class—Randolph's *Hey for Honesty*, which was patched by an "F. J." who may or may not have been Jaques, and *Humor Out of Breath*, in which Day acknowledges a partner, who may possibly have been Chapman, to whom R. and L. attribute the comedy (though this is probably only by confusion of the title with that of *Humorous Day's Mirth*).



## XII

There are several plays in which we are sure of one author, but in which the presence of another (named) author is a matter of doubt. Such is Shirley's *Constant Maid* (published in 1640 as by Shirley and in 1661 as by "T.B.," and in which consequently Thomas Brewer or Thomas Barker or some other may have had a hand). Such too is Daborne's *Poor Man's Comfort*, the "P. Massam" of which may have been either finisher or merely transcriber. The name resembles Massinger's, but the play offers no sign of the handiwork of that dramatist and seems to me pure Daborne. Others are *Wyat* (in which Heywood, Wentworth Smith, and Chettle may have been concerned as well as Dekker and Webster), Newcastle's two plays (in which the noble author may have received some assistance from Shirley, who is known to have helped him in his work of this nature), the two parts of Rutter's *Cid* (in both of which the two young Sackvilles perhaps took a hand, one of them certainly contributing something to the first part), *Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (published in 1659 as Day's, perhaps entirely revised by that writer, but more probably containing some of the work of Chettle, who originally wrote it with him in 1600), and Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, which may have been patched by Heywood. *Parliament of Love* was licensed in 1624 as Massinger's, but was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1660 as Rowley's, an ascription followed by Warburton. One might by this judge the play to be partly Rowley's, but the evidence of style is conclusive as to Massinger's sole authorship. *Bashful Lover* was first published in 1655 as Massinger's, but some few copies attributed it instead to "B. J.," though the Stationers' Register entry had credited it to Massinger. There is no sign of Jonson's presence in the play. Heywood's *Royal King* has some of Wentworth Smith's work in it, if, as is doubtful, it be identical with the *Marshal Osric* acted in 1602. Though published as Heywood's and with his motto on the title-page, and therefore in all probability by his authority, the epistle to the reader declares it to be an old play, and it shows many signs of alteration. Whether Heywood in revising worked on an old drama of his own, or on the *Marshal Osric* he wrote in collaboration with Smith, or on a play

by some other dramatist, can only be determined by the internal evidence.

*The Chances* is certainly partly or wholly Fletcher's, but R. and L. give it to Beaumont, and Archer ascribes it to Shakspeare. Its date makes Beaumont possible as a collaborator. *The Widow* was published in 1652 as by Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton, the attribution being vouched for by Gough; but a MS note worthy of attention says it was by Middleton alone. Kirkman gives it to Middleton and Rowley. The first part of *The Honest Whore* was published in 1604 as by Dekker, but is shown by Henslowe's entry to have been partly by Middleton, unless we are to assume, as is improbable, that his work was thrown out and replaced by some of Dekker's before publication. *The Elder Brother* was published in 1651 as by Beaumont and Fletcher and ten years later as by Fletcher alone, to whom also the cataloguers give it. Hills also testifies to Fletcher's presence, which is certain; but, though the probable date of the play renders Beaumont's co-operation possible, there is no trace of him in it. With *Cupid's Revenge* it is otherwise. Published in 1615 as Fletcher's, this play was republished in 1630 as by Beaumont and Fletcher, to whom also R. and L. give it.

The remaining eight plays of this section are worthy of very careful examination, as are also the four just dealt with. *The Bloody Brother* was in 1639 entered in the Stationers' Register as by "J. B.," which may stand for "Jonson, Beaumont" or for some unknown writer. When published, it was ascribed to "B. J. F."—either the initials of an unknown writer or an indication of the authorship of Beaumont, Jonson, and Fletcher, (or "Beaumont, John Fletcher"). The next year it was reissued as Fletcher's, to whom it is attributed also by the cataloguers. His connection with the play is moreover rendered tolerably certain by the statement contained in Hills's verses. The question for consideration is the presence of Beaumont and Jonson. In my own view the latter wrote part of the play, and this view has been confirmed by the striking parallels adduced by my friend Mr. Charles Crawford in his *Collectanea*; but for Beaumont the probable date of the play is too late. *The Ball and Chabot* were both published in 1639 as by Chapman and Shirley but were entered in the Stationers' Register as by Shirley, who claims them as

his in his list of 1652, without any mention of indebtedness to Chapman (not perhaps a very vital point). *The Ball* was however licensed in 1632 as Shirley's without any mention of Chapman. R. and L. also attribute it to Shirley, while Archer, who gives *Chabot* to that poet, credits *The Ball* to Chapman. To judge by the internal evidence, *The Ball* is entirely Shirley's, while *Chabot* is mainly his, his revision of Chapman's work being very slight in Act I, material in II and III (though he has not touched III, 1 to the Queen's entry or the first half of III, 2), complete in IV, and very extensive in V. *The Traitor* has been claimed mainly for one Rivers, a Jesuit, and may possibly have been his on a first draft, but as it stands it shows no sign of containing the work of anyone but Shirley, who moreover definitely claims it in his dedication. *A Mad Couple* was published in 1653 as by Brome, and is given to him by all the list-makers; but, as it appears between Rowley's plays and Shirley's in the Cockpit list of 1639, it is probably founded on a play by the former. *Orlando* was sold by Greene, but may have been partly the work of Peele, inasmuch as the credit for passages from it is divided between him and Greene in "England's Parnassus." *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, entered as Dekker's in the Stationers' Register in 1631 and 1633, was published in 1634 as by "S. R." and so may have been partly by Samuel Rowley (unless the initials stand for Samuel Rowlands or some other). Finally, *The Insatiate Countess* affords an interesting problem. Published in 1613 as Marston's, it was reissued in 1631 with an attribution on some copies to Marston, and on others to Barksted. Its style is generally admitted to differ greatly from that of the purely Marstonian plays, and it does not appear in the collection of Marston's works published in 1633. It contains two lines from Barksted's poem "Myrrha." It therefore seems probable that Barksted had a hand in it, though there need be no doubt of Marston's participation.

## XIII

There are a couple of plays that differ from those of the class that includes *Hey for Honesty* and *Humor out of Breath* in that, while we know that each of them is a joint production, we have no hint as to the name of any author save the one whose presence is tolerably

certain. These are *Goosecap* and *Knack to Know a Knave*, both of which are worthy studying. Of the latter all we know is that the "Merriments" of the men of Gotham are by Kemp: the bulk of the play is entirely anonymous. Of *Goosecap* all we know is that its author was dead before 1636 (see Perry's dedication to the edition of that year) and that in 1605-6 it was entered in the Stationers' Register to Blount conditionally on its being printed "according to the copy whereat Master Wilson's hand is at," wherefore as printed in 1606 it must have contained the younger Wilson's corrections, and indeed that it has undergone alteration is obvious. The critics are tolerably well agreed in looking on it as Chapman's.

## XIV

I am approaching the end of my task when I come to consider plays which are conclusively attributed to certain authors, without one having any reason to suppose that the attribution is complete as well as correct. Of such are plays whose authorship rests upon their inclusion in posthumous collections. Such attributions must be regarded as in part correct but as very likely incomplete, inasmuch as the collector would not omit a play because he knew it to be partly the work of another. Such plays may prove to be to only a very small extent the work of their reputed authors. In this category appear no less than 22 of the 36 plays that figure in the first Shakspeare folio. Some of these are mentioned by Meres as Shakspeare's and so might be assumed to be wholly his, but in the long years that elapsed between Meres's mention of them and their appearance in the folio—their first appearance in print—there was ample opportunity for the patcher and the reviser to do their work. In the plays published in the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647 other dramatists than the two named were represented, all that the inclusion of a play meant being that that play was in part at least by one or other of the pair: so too in the Shakspeare folio all that is necessarily meant by the inclusion of a play is that Shakspeare had a hand in writing it. It is not so with the authorized collections of Marston or Jonson, because there is a vast difference between a collection or selection made by the poet himself and one made after his death by his executors, his relatives, or those who possess the

copyright of his works. Of the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays there are 14 that come within this category. Of four or five of these we know definitely the original authorship; but we cannot be sure that they were not rewritten later. Davenant's Works supply two—*Distresses* and *Fair Favorite*. The others in this group are *Battle of Alcazar*, passages from which are attributed to Peele in "England's Parnassus," and which may consequently be assumed to be entirely the work of that writer; *Selimus*, in which the same authority declares Greene to have had a hand, whence similarly his entire authorship may be assumed, though it was published in 1638 as by "T. G." (which might possibly stand for Thomas Green, the actor, but was more probably a blunder); *Hoffman*, published anonymously in 1631, but shown by Henslowe to have been (originally, at least) the work of Chettle; and *Fortunatus*. The very title of this comedy (*Old Fortunatus in His New Livery*) implies that it is a revision of an old play. We know that the "End for the Court" in 1599 was by Dekker; and, though the play as printed has no name on the title-page, it has Dekker's name at the end. Whether Dekker was revising a play of his own or one by another dramatist is a matter for the consideration of the student of style. To me the play seems entirely Dekker's. It must not be overlooked that Jonson is on one occasion styled "Fortunatus" and that Greene gave that name to his son.

Of all these, the plays particularly recommendable for study are the three *Henry VI* plays (in which I include the two "Contention" versions of parts 2 and 3, ascribed to Shakspeare in the 1619 edition, but of doubtful authorship), *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, *Henry VIII*, *Tempest*, and *Timon of Athens* (the authorship of the supposed non-Shakspearean parts of these nine plays being a matter of moment), *Selimus* (in regard to which Mr. Crawford's argument in favor of Marlowe's authorship is worthy of careful consideration), *Fair Maid of the Inn* (which as a posthumous Fletcher play is to be studied for the same reason as *The Noble Gentleman*), *Knight of Malta*, *Laws of Candy*, and *Queen of Corinth* (which three plays are the subject of some differences of opinion among "Beaumont and Fletcher" investigators), *Love's Pilgrimage* (which, according to Malone, was entered by Herbert in his diary as by

Fletcher and Shirley), and *Fortunatus*. It is strange that there has never been undertaken any thorough detailed comparison of the various scenes of the *Henry VI* trilogy and its sequel, *Richard III*, with other plays of the period. *Arden*, *Edward III*, and many others offer interesting points of resemblance; but for lack of time I must leave the work to others.

## XV

The plays that remain may all be accepted as of certain authorship, unless the internal evidence is such as to cause us to doubt the external; but they are of two distinct classes—those that were obviously given to the printer by the writer or with his consent, and those of which that cannot be predicated. Even in the former case we cannot be absolutely sure of the authorship, for the claimant may have been a rogue willing to annex to himself the work of a dead comrade or a vain ass who had persuaded himself of his entire responsibility for a work in which he had only a share; but this class assuredly gives us the nearest approach to certainty that we can obtain. In the other there is no small likelihood of the publisher having been content with the name of the chief writer even when he knew there were two or more, of his being unaware that his author's work as he had it had been touched up by the players or their hacks, of his being ignorant that his author's work was based on the older work of a deceased dramatist, or even of his confusing it with some other work of similar title or on the same subject. Some of them again were published anonymously, and our knowledge of the authorship is due to references by other writers. In this connection note may be taken of Heywood's statement in the epistle that prefaces *The Rape of Lucrece*, wherein he informs us that he used to sell his copy to the players, and therefore supposed he had "no further right to print them without their consent, which is the reason that so few are in print, and that some of these plays that are so have been copied by the ear and printed uncorrect without his knowledge."

In all the cases in this class the ascriptions may be presumed to be complete, unless there be definite cause to doubt it. Among them are Fletcher's *Woman's Prize* (which Archer gives partly to



Beaumont), *Wild-Goose Chase* (which has undergone alteration), *Loyal Subject*, *M. Thomas*, *Humorous Lieutenant*, and *Rule a Wife*, Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and No King*, *Maid's Tragedy*, *Scornful Lady*, and *Philaster*, and Fletcher and Shirley's *Night-Walker* (which was published in 1640 as by Fletcher, but which undoubtedly contains the alterations known to have been made in it by Shirley). Others of this group are Grevile's two, Barry's *Ram Alley*, Berkeley's *Lost Lady*, eleven of Brome's, Anthony Brewer's *Love-sick King* (which Archer ascribes to Thomas Bernard), Cartwright's four, half a dozen of Carlell's, Chapman's *Gentleman Usher*, Bussy, *Blind Beggar*, *May-Day*, and *M. d'Olive* (the first-named two of which show signs of alteration), two of Davenport's, Davenant's *Siege*, *Love and Honor*, *Unfortunate Lovers*, and *News* (the last-named being obviously an alteration), Denham's *Sophy*, Dekker's *Wonder* (which has evidently undergone alteration) and *Shoemaker's Holiday*, Drue's *Duchess of Suffolk*, Field's *Amends*, Phineas Fletcher's *Sicelides*, Fisher's *Fuimus Troes*, Greene's *Friar Bacon* and *James IV* (which has certainly been altered, and which Mr. Fleay thinks in part Lodge's), Glapthorne's *Argalus*, three of Goffe's, Gough's *Strange Discovery*, Haughton's *Englishmen*, Heming's two, Heywood's *Captives* (certainly altered) and *Woman Killed*, Habington's *Queen of Aragon*, Holiday's *Technogamia*, Jonson's *Tale of a Tub* and *Devil is an Ass*, Lodge's *Wounds* (which Allot credits to "D. Lodge"), Lyly's eight, (including *Campaspe*, which as we have it, has been revised, probably by Lyly himself), Mayne's two, two of Middleton's, two of May's, Mead's *Love and Friendship*, Jack Drum's *Entertainment* (which the internal as well as the external evidence shows to be Marston's), Mundy's *John a Kent*, Marlowe's *Massacre*, Massinger's *Believe as You List* and *Guardian*, Peaps' *Love in Its Extasy*, Peele's *Arraignment* (which Kirkman and Archer attribute to Shakspeare), *Edward I* (which has obviously undergone alteration), and *David*, Porter's *Two Angry Women*, Rowley's *All's Lost* (which R. and L. ascribe to Massinger) and *New Wonder* (certainly altered), Randolph's *Amyntas*, Shirley's *Coronation* ("falsely ascribed to Fletcher" as Shirley says, and clearly the later writer's both on the internal and the external evidence), Suckling's four, Tomkins' *Albumazar* and *Lingua*, Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy*, Tailor's *Hog*, Wilde's *Love's Hospital*, Wilde's



*Beneficè*, the *Cobbler's Prophecy* of Robert Wilson, Sen., Arthur Wilson's *Swisser*, Wilkins' *Miseries* (certainly remodeled, probably by Wilkins himself), and Shakspeare's *Othello*, *Richard II* (a quotation from which is given to Drayton in "England's Parnassus," as one from *Love's Labor's Lost* is credited to Daniel), *Richard III* (which seems to me to be partly by Kyd), *Romeo* (in which a second hand has been suspected), *The Merchant of Venice*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Much Ado*, *Merry Wives* (these four having all been subjected to some revision), *Hamlet* (the earliest quarto of which may contain some of the old *Hamlet*, conjectured to be Kyd's), the two *Henry IV* plays (both altered), and *Lear*. There are moreover Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido*, the *Eastward Hoe* of Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, Massinger and Field's *Fatal Dowry*, Massinger and Dekker's *Virgin Martyr*, Markham and Sampson's *Herod*, Dekker's *Honest Whore*, part 2 (in which it is possible that Middleton may have had a hand, as he had in the first part), Mundy and Chettle's two *Robin Hood* plays (which Kirkman gives to Heywood), Greene and Lodge's *Looking-Glass*, Dekker and Webster's *Northward Hoe* and *Westward Hoe*, the *Patient Grissil* of Chettle, Dekker, and Haughton, Middleton and Rowley's *Spanish Gipsy* and *Changeling*, Dekker and Forde's *Sun's Darling*, and that *Oldcastle* of which some copies were issued in 1600 under Shakspeare's name, but which Henslowe shows us to have been written by Mundy, Drayton, Hathwaye, and Wilson, Jr. The division of this play between its four authors is a pretty hopeless task. In I, 1, 2, III, 1, and perhaps IV, 4 we have one whose verse is prose cut into lengths, with a fair percentage of bad run-ons; in I, 3, II, 3, III, 4, IV, 1, and V, 9, an old-fashioned, regular versifier; in V, 1, a stiff and jerky writer. The rest of the play (including doubtfully III, 3 and IV, 2 and 3) may be set down to Drayton's credit, differing from the verse of *The Merry Devil* mainly in its freedom from rhyme. (As against this division, note that the poet's idea of the Irish idiom is shown in V, 2 in the use of "me's," while the author of V, 10 uses instead "me be.")

*Grissil* is ascribed in an old MS note to Chettle alone. Were it not known to have been originally the work of three writers, I should hesitate between giving it to one author (whom I should pronounce to be Dekker) and giving it to two (Dekker in that

case being credited with I, 2, II, 2, III, 1, IV, 1, 2, V, 1, and the bulk of V, 2).

There are yet others. *Troilus* has certainly been altered, and there have been many suggestions made in regard to it. Mr. Fleay has put forward the idea that it contains "débris" from an old play by Dekker and Chettle, while Mr. Boyle has argued at great length, but quite unconvincingly, in favor of Marston's participation. To me it seems that the play contains nothing that is not Shakspeare's. *City Madam* is another play that has indubitably undergone alteration, but an examination of it shows no hand but Massinger's. *Very Woman*, on the other hand, though licensed in 1634 and published in 1655 as the work of Massinger, contains numerous traces of Fletcher's presence, so that the attribution to Massinger must be taken as only partly correct. It is a pity that Malone has not made it clear to us in this case as in that of *The Bashful Lover* whether or not Herbert has named Massinger as the sole author of the play.

Of all these plays the ones offering attractions to the student in questions of authorship are *Richard III*, *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Merry Wives*, *Edward I*, *James IV*, the second part of *The Honest Whore*, *Patient Grissil*, *Wonder of a Kingdom*, *New Wonder*, and *Very Woman*.

But there remain three others of this class, all of them well worthy of attention. One is *The Cunning Lovers* published in 1654 as by Alexander Brome. As it appears in the Cockpit list of 1639, when Brome was only nineteen years old, he must have been either very precocious or nothing more than a reviser in later years. As in that list it appears between two of Heywood's plays it may on the external evidence (I have not read it) be considered a play originally by Heywood, afterward patched by Alexander Brome. The second of the three is *Titus*, the external evidence in favor of Shakspeare's authorship of which is just as strong as is the evidence in favor of any of the admittedly Shakspearean dramas in this class. I do not say that the internal evidence bears out that view; in point of fact, it seems to me that there is more of Kyd than of Shakspeare in the play, but certainly also, as some critics are not willing to admit, some of the ostensible author's work. But for those to whom external evidence means everything there should be no doubt of Shakspeare's authorship. The only thing against it is Ravenscroft's improbable

and in all likelihood baseless tradition that it was the work of "a private author" given "some master touches" by Shakspeare. This was ridiculed by Langbaine, and in any case need not be regarded as of authority. The attempt to identify this play with the *Titus and Andronicus* acted by Sussex' men at the Rose in 1593-94 is absurd, because the presence of the little word "and" which serves most effectually to differentiate them, is no mistake, as is shown by the fact that it recurs in a Stationers' Register entry as late as 1626. Moreover the play in this entry of 1626 cannot be the one in the folio, and the entry clearly infers that it is not Shakspeare's, inasmuch as it speaks of "Master Pavier's right to Shakspeare's plays or any of them, and *Titus and Andronicus*." Neither can the play as we have it be the *Titus and Vespasian* produced by Strange's in 1592, because there is no Vespasian in it; but, as there is a Vespasian in the German version of the play, this may have been the tragedy which Shakspeare retouched. The third play is *How to Choose*, which contains such striking resemblances to Heywood's *Wise Woman* that Mr. Fleay thinks it must be his, despite the MS ascription to Joshua Cooke. Such resemblances are usually capable of two or more interpretations, and it is possible in this case to infer that some of Cooke's work is to be found in the Heywood play. Heywood's connection with Cooke is shown by his address to the latter's *Green's Tu Quoque*. This address, it may be noted, hints that Cooke is dead, but does not expressly say so. Is it possible that Joshua (or Jo.) Cooke is a myth affording a pen-name for Heywood? The circumstance, however, that his name has been written on the title-page seems to contradict the idea that he was not a real personage. It may be worthy of remark that the metre used for narrative in *How to Choose* is the same as occurs in the epilogue to *Woman Killed with Kindness*.

## XVI

As the plays of the single remaining class are the only ones on which a knowledge of the respective authors' styles in various genres can be based with anything like absolute safety, it may be as well to indicate what ones belong to it. There are Alexander's four, Armin's *Two Maids*, Brandon's *Octavia*, Brome's *Antipodes*,

*Jovial Crew*, and *Weeding of Covent Garden*, Barnes's *Devil's Charter*, Baron's *Mirza*, Burnell's *Landgartha*, Chamberlayne's *Swaggering Damsel*, George Cartwright's *Heroic Lover* (a closet drama which may date from after 1642), Elizabeth Carey's *Marian*, Cowley's couple, Carlell's *Deserving Favorite*, half a dozen of Chapman's, Cokain's two, *Travels of Three Brothers* (by Day, Rowley, and Wilkins), five of Davenant's, Day's *Law Tricks* and *Isle of Gulls*, Daborne's *Christian*, Daniel's four, Davenport's *John*, four of Dekker's, Forde's seven, Freeman's *Imperiale*, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, Field's *Woman*, Gomersal's *Sforza*, four of Glapthorne's, Heywood and Brome's *Lancashire Witches* (which may be assumed to have been given to the press by Heywood, since it has his motto on the title-page), Heywood's *Challenge* (which also carries his motto), eighteen others of his (if his *Calisto*, which I have not seen and of which I know nothing, be rightly included in this section), Harding's *Fatal Union*, Hawkins' *Apollo Shroving* (given to the press by his friend, "E. W."), Hausted's *Rival Friends*, Hughes and Fulbeck's *Arthur* (the title-page being too precise in its statement of the division of the work to permit us to doubt its authority), Jaques' *Queen of Corsica*, fifteen of Jonson's, Jordan's *Walks*, Jones's *Adrasta*, Thomas Killigrew's four, Henry Killigrew's *Pallantus*, Knevet's *Rhodon*, Kirke's *Seven Champions*, Kyd's *Cornelia*, Lower's *Phœnix*, Moore's *Arcadian Lovers* (which may possibly be of a later date), two of Marmion's, seven of Marston's, Middleton's *Witch*, Middleton and Dekker's *Roaring Girl*, ten of Massinger's, Montague's *Shepherd's Paradise*, Markham and Machin's *Dumb Knight*, Mason's *Turk*, May's *Antigone* and *Cleopatra*, Milton's *Comus*, Nabbes' half-dozen, Neale's *Ward*, Percy's six, Randolph's *Jealous Lover*, Rutter's *Shepherd's Holiday*, Rowley and Middleton's *Fair Quarrel*, Rawlins' *Rebellion*, Richards' *Messalina*, 28 of Shirley's, Strobe's *Floating Island*, Stephens' *Cynthia's Revenge*, Sharpe's *Noble Stranger*, Sampson's *Vow-Breaker*, Sharpam's *Fleire*, Tatham's two, Whetstone's two, three of Webster's, *Tancred*, and Zouch's *Sophister* (which is, by the way, the same play as *Fallacy*—with considerable variations, not, however, sufficient to account for the two titles being generally referred to as applying to two different plays). There is also Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me You Know Me*, which, though it was published in 1613

without a dedication, may be deemed to have been given by him to the press, inasmuch as it describes him on the title-page as "Servant to the Prince." There is ample evidence of the authorship of all of these dramas; and we may quite ignore the attribution of Davenport's play in a MS note on one old copy to "W. Daven" (meant evidently for Davenant) or Drummond's mention of *The Faithful Shepherdess* as Beaumont and Fletcher's; nor need we attach importance to the omission of *Honor and Riches* and *The Young Admiral* from the list of his plays which Shirley issued in 1652 (they must have been overlooked, as each has a dedication by him), or the erasure of Heywood's name and initials in an existing copy of that writer's *Golden Age*; nor yet need we worry over Oldys' note that "Ben Jonson charged Forde that *The Lover's Melancholy* was purloined from Shakespeare's papers." The inclusion of *Tancred* may cause surprise inasmuch as it was acted in 1568, but Wilmot, one of its original five authors, rewrote it, probably shortly before he published it in 1591. I put Verney's *Antipo* in this class, but I have not seen it, and do not know if this is its proper place.

Naturally enough this class offers nothing especially recommendable for our purpose save *Byron's Conspiracy*, which has certainly been greatly altered, and in which Mr. Fleay has suggested Jonson's participation. If, however, Jonson was concerned in the original draft of the play, it is likely that nothing of his work was left when it was revised prior to publication. The single-author plays of this section are, to be sure, worthy of study, but it is not because they themselves offer problems for solution, but because they make possible the solution of problems offered by other plays. They are, in short, the plays on which one may most safely ground a knowledge of the style of the various dramatists concerned in them.

To sum up, the dramas I would particularly recommend to students desirous of settling questions of authorship are:

A (unclaimed plays): *Swetnam*, *Queen*, *Love and Fortune*, the non-Shaksperean *Richard II*, *Stukeley*, *Wily Beguiled*.

B (plays unclaimed but having possibilities of specific authorship which have first to be considered): *More*, *Soliman*, *Dodipoll*.

C (plays claimed on altogether inadequate grounds): *Arden*, *Edward III*, *A Shrew*.

D (plays of diverse claims, lacking certainty): *Second Maiden's Tragedy*, *Pericles*, *Fortune by Land and Sea*.

E (plays of joint attribution, partly probable and partly of very little value): *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

F (plays as to which the evidence of authorship is strong but not quite adequate): *Revenger's Tragedy*, *George-a-Greene*, *Nero*, *Yorkshire Tragedy*, *Appius*, the first part of *Tamburlaine* (a settlement of which carries with it a settlement of the second part also), *London Prodigal*, *Cromwell*.

G (plays only part-authorship of which is certain): *The Shrew*, the three *Henry VI* plays, *Cymbeline*, *Timon of Athens*.

H (plays regarding which the external evidence is sufficient unless contradicted by the internal): *Titus*, *Richard III*.

Apart from such study of individual plays one of the most interesting tasks any literary detective can set himself is a search through the drama of the first quarter of the period with the object of determining whether or no there is any of the dramatic work of Watson extant. The proof of the existence of something more than the mere fragment of Nashe's dramatic work that we now possess would also be of great interest, and the discovery of Tournour's presence elsewhere than in *The Atheist's Tragedy* would be of value as helping to prove or disprove the theory that *The Revenger's Tragedy* is his, while, finally, anything tending to elucidate the relations between Cooke and Heywood is worth some trouble to ascertain.

As to how the detection of the presence of unknown writers in any of the plays I have named is to be effected and their identity determined, that is a matter which every investigator must settle for himself. All I have sought to do here is to state the problems, not to endeavor to impose upon others my ideas of the best means of solving them.

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LONDON





